

# ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER.

UNDER THE SANCTION OF

THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

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### THE ANGLO-EGYPTIAN SLAVE CONVENTION AND DECREE OF THE KHEDIVE OF AUG. 4TH, 1877.

WE have already noticed the action taken by the Anti-Slavery Society in forwarding copies of this document in Arabic to Egypt, and we now publish with pleasure a letter on the subject received from the Foreign Office. The prompt steps taken by Lord Granville to carry out the wishes of the Society will be of great advantage, by making known the terms of this document to the masses of the people. The letter of Her Majesty's Consul-General for Egypt to the Consuls under his supervision will also contribute to this end.

"Foreign Office, November 22nd, 1880.

"SIR,—I am directed by Earl Granville to transmit to you herewith, for the information of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, a copy of a circular which Her Majesty's Agent and Consul-General in Egypt has addressed to Her Majesty's Consuls in that country, forwarding to them the Arabic copies which accompanied your letter of the 8th ultimo, of the Anglo-Egyptian Anti-Slave-Trade Convention of August 4, with the Khedive's Decree of the same date.

"I am, Sir,

"Your most obedient, humble servant,  
"T. V. LISTER.

"Secretary of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society."

(Copy.)

"(Circular). Cairo, November 8th, 1880.

"SIR,—At the request of the Anti-Slavery Society, Lord Granville has transmitted to me a supply of copies in Arabic of the Anglo-Egyptian Anti-Slave-Trade Convention of August 4th, 1877, with the Khedive's Decree of the same date. I enclose a certain number, and am to instruct you to place a copy in a conspicuous position in your office, and to distribute copies as you may consider proper and useful.

"You will give similar instructions to the Vice-Consuls under your jurisdiction.

"I am, &c.,

"(Signed) EDWARD B. MALET.

"H.M.'s Consuls, Egypt."

### COUNT DELLA SALA AND THE SLAVE-TRADE IN EGYPT.

WE are happy to learn that the expeditions undertaken by Count della Sala against the slave-dealers on the Nile have been conducted with great spirit and success. We wish to give all credit to this officer for a real desire to put down this abominable traffic, but we cannot but feel that he is working at a great disadvantage, because his jurisdiction does not extend to the Soudan, where the trade is principally carried on; and the greater the difficulty experienced in bringing slave-gangs down the Nile or through the Libyan

Desert the more active will the trade be on the Red Sea shores. We therefore cheerfully publish the following extracts of letters from correspondents in Egypt defending Count Sala from some adverse criticisms that have been made, and showing how much more humane his policy towards liberated slaves would be if he were not thwarted by the Government under whose orders he acts, and who distribute the slaves amongst the pashas *gratis*. Can this be called liberation?

—  
"Cairo, Nov. 15, 1880.

"DEAR SIR,—I take the liberty of enclosing to you a letter from the Editor of the *Egyptian Gazette*, and a newspaper article which contains the answer of Raouf Pasha, in which he justifies himself. The frivolous manner in which he vindicates himself against the attacks of the press, though they are founded upon facts, will be of interest to you.

"The last number of the *Anti-Slavery Reporter* you kindly sent me will have directed anew the general interest upon the condition of slavery in Egypt. The beneficial labours of your society have already accomplished much, for it is evident that the Egyptian Government begins to awake to the gravity of the circumstances produced by the present condition of affairs. It has done its best towards giving publicity to the Convention with England, which may be entirely attributed to your and Colonel Gordon's initiative.

"On account of the obstructed navigation of the Upper Nile, a letter dated May the 11th has reached me only now. The following extract shows the unremitting zeal of Gessi Pasha:—

'Since Gessi has put an end to the slave-trade in his province, he has concentrated his whole attention upon promoting trade through legitimate means, and to obtain this result he is beginning to export largely the products of the soil of the country—gutta percha, tamarinds, gums, galam butter, wax, &c. He has had barges constructed on the Upper Djar River, which are to transport these products direct from the interior of the country to Chartum. This is the first attempt of this kind.'

"You see, honoured sir, that it is not necessary to be an Englishman to serve en-

thusiastically the cause of humanity. I hope you will live to see great results for the good cause in Count della Sala. The *Anti-Slavery Reporter* publishes a dubious judgment of the activity of this gentleman: but he works much more energetically than you seem to give him credit for, and you must not believe that he subordinates himself to the wishes of the Egyptian Government. Count della Sala, who is an independent man, and can resign whenever he likes, has to combat much opposition from the Government, as his far-reaching schemes find little favour. Desiring to protect the freed or confiscated slaves, he wishes to form with them agricultural colonies in Egypt, but the Government coolly takes away the slaves and hands them over to the police, who dispose of them in the usual manner, viz., *distribute them in the houses of the pashas and beys, which is nothing but the slave-trade—gratis!* It is not possible to judge an agency by its results, ere its activity has made itself really felt. I see that many newspapers spread the erroneous belief that Count della Sala has been appointed chief of the supervision of the condition of slavery, of the *whole of Egypt*. His sphere of activity confines itself to *Egypt proper*: with *Nubia* (Dongola, Berber, &c.) or the *Soudan*, he has nothing to do.

"It is my conviction that a revision of the contract of 1877 is very necessary, especially as regards the making of eunuchs. The basis of the abolition must be:—1. A certainty of punishment, for the prevention of crime. 2. Protection for the persons of slaves. Since there is no regular legislation in Egypt, the first can only be reached through a decree of the Khedive. Nobody can now ensure that the guilty suffer punishment, and this must not be done through arbitrary means! The Europeans here are indignant that the Khedive and the pashas continue to keep eunuchs, who publicly accompany the state carriages of their wives. This encourages the making of eunuchs, as a demand is still created.

"A fact of great importance escaped my notice during my absence this summer. Mr. Mallet has succeeded in including in the terms 'accomplices of slave-traders,' as it stands in the contract of 1877, the purchaser himself. Riaz Pasha has, thereupon, informed all governors, by means of a circular, dated July the 31st, 1880, to punish

in future every purchaser of slaves, as well as the slave-dealer himself.

"Yours truly,  
"G. SCHWEINFURTH."

"Cairo.

"DEAR SIR,—To-day I have the pleasure to give you some details on Count della Sala's steps, which he has undertaken for the suppression of the slave-trade, by order of the Egyptian Government, and I am happy to be enabled to state that the result can be considered as satisfactory and successful.

"The slave-trade continues in the province of *Esneh* (Upper Egypt), and especially in the districts of 'Koomombo,' 'Edooa Nakel-Dib,' 'Dimban Meniecha Gebel-el-Silsileh,' 'Darawi,' 'El Gahba,' 'Assouan.'

"The orders given by circular-letter by His Excellency Riaz Pasha had not been executed in the above-mentioned districts before Count della Sala's arriving there.

"Four large villages, composing the district of Darawi, are falling under the application of that circular-letter, and if Count della Sala would have been willing to execute the official instructions with full rigour he would have been obliged to arrest nearly all the inhabitants of those villages, beginning first with the Schekh-el-Beled and the Mamoor themselves.

"Count della Sala left his dahabieh in the night of the 31st ult., and surprised the villages of 'Nagel Deb' and 'Meniecha,' where he liberated several slaves, and at sunrise, after a forced march, he arrived before the villages of 'Darawi,' where, however, he found all houses empty of slaves, the population, as he heard after, having been advertised immediately after his departure from Siout, in spite of all precautions taken by him. Nearly all the inhabitants had also fled before him taking with them their slaves. Thousands of small objects, originally from the Soudan, Kordofan, Darfoor, and Wadai, which were found in the empty houses, and having been abandoned there in the precipitation of the flight were proof enough of the former presence of slaves. Three hidden slave-wives only were found, one of them hidden under straw. These wives had arrived there three months ago only.

"So Count della Sala pursued his reconnoitering expedition till near Assouan,

liberating all slaves which he found on his way, and which liberation did not only consist in handing to the unhappy and poor human creatures a so-called free card (*carte de liberté*), as it was used till now in Egypt, and which, of course, is not sufficient, but he left them full liberty to go where they liked, giving to each some money, and procuring them free work, which each liked the best, in order to win their bread, as we all do.

"The question is, of course, not to set a slave at liberty and to leave him afterwards abandoned to the greatest misery, or even to let him die of hunger; our duty is to liberate them, in *helping them afterwards* for their *future existence*—viz., by educating the children, and by providing for honest free labour and work for the adults.

"Yours very truly,  
"G. WILD."

#### SLAVE-TRADE IN THE RED SEA.

With reference to the subject treated of in the above letters, we observe by a report from the Governor of Massowah, dated 20th Oct., 1880, and printed in the *Phare d'Alexandrie*, that this official declares the slave-trade to have ceased entirely in the Red Sea! The cool manner in which he proceeds to prove how successfully he has put down the traffic in human beings contrasts strangely with accounts we have received from a European traveller, who asserts that when the Governor was making his tour of inspection a pretty little scene was got up in the pre-arranged capture of a slave-caravan with eighty slaves. This is how the Egyptian Government succeed "in throwing dust into the eyes of Europe," as we are so often told by various correspondents. The same traveller states that "he was always accompanied during his journey by a native chief and soldier day and night, lest he should see or hear things that were not convenient!"

Since writing the above we have received the following excellent criticism on the report of the Governor of the Red Sea Coast, which we reprint from the *Egyptian Gazette*, of 20th November, 1880.

"The Khedivial Government in its desire to prove the sincerity of its intentions in respect of the suppression of the slave-trade, is con-



tinuing the publication, in its official organ, of a series of despatches, which we have read with considerable interest.

"A despatch addressed to the Minister of the Interior by the Governor-General of the Coasts of the Red Sea, dated 2nd October, is intended to refute the statements which had appeared in English newspapers to the effect that the trade was being actively carried on on the coasts of the Red Sea.

"The perusal of this document has given us cause for some reflections, which we now submit to our readers as briefly as possible.

"The Governor-General says,—'On my arrival at El-Kosseir, I learned that a certain Mohamed Dakil Alla representative of (*fonné de pouvoirs*) the Sheiks of the Bedouins named El-Baida, entrusted with the guardianship of this locality, was in relations with slave-dealers. Having sent for him and examined him on the subject, he has formally denied the accusation: however, he had to sign an engagement according to which he would never participate in this traffic, and further he bound himself to keep an eye on any movement of this description, especially on any slave caravan which might be announced, in order immediately to inform the Governor, and in the event of his failing in this engagement he would become liable to all the penalties prescribed by the law. This declaration was legalised by the Governor of Kosseir, who was requested to keep a watch on the signatory.'

"Thus the Governor-General is aware that he has to deal with an accomplice of slave-dealers. This accomplice naturally pleads not guilty. This denial appears to satisfy the childlike innocence of the Governor-General, who does not institute any proceedings against the suspected individual. In fact this denial inspires His Excellency with such confidence in the anti-slavery sentiments of the person that he enrolls him in the service for the suppression of the slave-trade, and requests him to watch for any caravan of slaves that may be announced! Some remnants of distrust cause the Governor-General to take the precaution of making him sign an engagement to the effect that he would never participate in the slave-trade. *Ah! le bon billet!!* To add to the precautionary measures taken, the ex-accomplice of slave dealers' signature is solemnly legalised?

"In all frankness we ask ourselves if the Governor-General is under a delusion as to

the efficiency of the measures which he has taken at El-Kosseir. We ask ourselves if he has thoroughly weighed the value of the Anglo-Egyptian Convention, in the 2nd article of which we find that,

"'Any person who, either in Egypt, or on the confines of Egypt and her dependencies towards the centre of Africa, may be found engaged in the traffic in slaves (negroes or Abyssinians), either directly or indirectly, shall, together with his accomplices, be considered by the Government of the Khedive as guilty of "stealing with murder," (*"vol avec meurtre"*); if subject to Egyptian jurisdiction he shall be handed over for trial to a court-martial, if not he shall be immediately handed over for trial according to the laws of his country to the competent tribunals, with the depositions (*procès verbaux*) drawn up by the Egyptian superior authority of the place where the traffic has been proved, and all other documents or evidence (*"éléments de conviction"*) handed over by the said authority, and destined to serve as proofs at the trial of the traders, so far as those laws may admit of such proof. All slaves (negroes or Abyssinians) found in the possession of a dealer in slaves shall be liberated and dealt with in conformity with the provisions of Article III. and of Annex (A) to the present Convention.'

#### FURTHER STEPS TAKEN BY THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL.

"But let us continue to examine the measures taken by the Governor-General in his tour of inspection, and let us follow him to Suakim. 'These different measures,' he writes, 'have resulted in the capture, in the neighbourhood of Suakim, of this great caravan, comprising eighty slaves. The dealers who were in charge of the caravan succeeded in escaping, but they are being actively pursued, and it is to be hoped they will be arrested in their turn.'

"We find it difficult to believe that this caravan could have been captured without its being possible to seize a single one of the dealers accompanying it! We are quite ready to believe that all the subordinate officials of the Governor-General did their duty, but we will be still further convinced when we learn that the slave-dealers in question have been brought before the Council of War in Cairo, and that sentence had been passed on them, even by default.



"On his arrival at Massowah, the Governor-General learns that certain merchants from Abyssinia are engaged in the slave-trade in the territory of Massowah, 'One of them,' says the Governor, 'had sold in the last-named town five Abyssinian slaves. I have at the present moment' he adds, 'written to the Governor on the subject. The Wekil of the Governor was immediately appointed to proceed and surprise these merchants and capture the slaves which they might have as well as those which might have been sold. In fact, the above-named five slaves were captured with five others *which the merchants pretended were their servants. This pretention not having been admitted,* papers of freedom were given to these unfortunates, who were treated with every humanity, in conformity with the provisions on the subject.' (The italics are our own.)

"We might well believe that we were dreaming when we read the above. Thus slave-traders *taken in the very act,* have not even been arrested or brought before the Council of War at Cairo, as is formally prescribed by the law. At least, the Governor-General does not say one word as to the measures he may have taken against these slave-dealers. Apparently he was satisfied by not recognising their defence. We earnestly trust that such apparent weakness will not be allowed to pass without notice by the respective Governments interested in the loyal execution of the Convention.

After this, the Governor-General is welcome to conclude triumphantly 'that the measures taken to cut short the slave-trade on the coasts of the Red Sea are really efficient; . . . . . that the slave-trade is to-day unknown on the coasts of the Red Sea.' No impartial reader can seriously accept such assurances, contradicted as they are by the very tenor of the letter of the Governor-General, who is labouring under a strange delusion if he imagines that he has removed the legitimate mistrust, expressed by the English press, in the efficiency of the means taken by the Egyptian Government to repress this vile traffic at the very place where it is possible to carry it on most actively far from the watchful superintendence of the central authorities.

"Further, while giving all credit to the Egyptian Government for sincerity and good faith, of which it gives a proof by the publication *in extenso* of all the important documents connected with the slave-trade, we consider something more is wanting.

"We would like to know the results of inquiries which are so frequently mentioned in these documents. Have they all been found to have been made without cause? With the exception of the case of the Moodeer of Assiout what punishments have been inflicted on officials of all classes who have been in a position to be complaisant in favouring the slave-trade, and who, it is easy to see, by reading between the lines of the documents in the *Moniteur*, must be numerous and cannot be altogether unknown to the Governors-General of the Soudan or of the Coasts of the Red Sea? How many, not only of slave-dealers, but of their accomplices, have been handed over for trial to Court-Martials? How many condemnations have been made by Court-Martials? Which are they? Have they been sufficient to inspire a salutary terror in the minds of the slave-dealers and those who secretly encourage them in their odious traffic? These are all points on which we would like to be accurately informed without delay.

"The Egyptian Government has wisely determined to throw light into the dark places under its jurisdiction. We ask the Government not to hesitate to expose everything if it is really desirous of removing all doubt, prejudice and mistrust, which far too many undeniable facts have only too often justified and which have, hitherto, had the effect of encouraging weakness, neglect, and a certain guilty complaisance on the part of subordinate officials, in whose hands, after all, rests to a great extent the effectual repression of the slave-trade.

"In conclusion we will make, in all humility, an observation or rather a proposal. The Egyptian Government has recently appointed different Commissions to consider the reorganisation of various public administrations and to frame projects *ad hoc*. In taking this course the Government has, no doubt wished to avail itself of all that experience and special qualifications could suggest in order to put the services affected on a sound and solid footing. We regret, however, extremely that in order to put an end, once for all, to the slave-trade, the Government has not yet considered the propriety of naming a special Commission with the mission of freely considering the best means of suppressing the trade. It would not be difficult to choose men who, by their position, special knowledge or antecedents, would afford to public opinion a serious guar-

anteo for the impartiality and competence of the Commission. On the one hand competent Egyptian officials who have been concerned in the suppression of the slave-trade (as an example we may name Gessi Pasha, who has always seconded, so energetically, Gordon Pasha), on the other hand travellers whose anti-slavery opinions and independence of character are well-known, such as Burton, Schweinfurth, &c. Such would be the desirable composition of this Commission, where all opinions and all proposals could be freely ventilated and discussed, and which the Government might convoke at once. Certainly such a Commission would have as much authority as the Commission of Notables of Khartoum, of which mention is made in the letter of H. E. Réouf Pasha, Governor-General of the Soudan."

#### THE EGYPTIAN GOVERNMENT AND ITS ENGLISH CRITICS.

THAT the Egyptian Government is not altogether insensible to the influence of the English press is evident from the following document, published by the *Moniteur Egyptien*, 26th November. "Traduction d'un telegramme du Ministère de l'Interieur au Gouverneur Général du Soudan," No. 305, 11th November, 1880. After recapitulating the statements set forth in the letter to the *Times*, dated 27th October, which was forwarded by the Anti-Slavery Society, it thus proceeds:—

"Such is an epitome of the serious charges to which the attention of the Government is called. Instructions of the most precise and distinct nature have been sent to you at various times, directing you to take the most energetic measures to put an end to this traffic, and to insure the carrying out of the ordinances and circulars which have been from time to time published. Notwithstanding such urgent commands, the assertion is still persistently made that acts are perpetrated, the gravity of which cannot be denied. Therefore as soon as this despatch arrives you will immediately proceed to set on foot a personal inquiry, in the most serious and energetic form. You will take pains to inform yourself of all that goes on with regard to this matter, in every part of the dominions under your command, and you will so act as to inform yourself of the exact truth, and to see if there really exist functionaries so daring as thus flagrantly to infringe

the peremptory orders of the Government, and so forgetful of their duty and of their dignity as to permit this traffic to continue, either directly or indirectly. As soon therefore as this inquiry shall be terminated you will address a full report to the Minister of the Interior."

More follows in the same strain; all of which would be most admirable if we could feel any confidence that it would be carried out in act. Unfortunately the Eastern Governments are always ready enough to promise, but there the matter is usually allowed to end. It is time that Europe insisted upon a stop being put to this detestable trade in human merchandise.

#### REPLY OF THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF SOUDAN.

The same paper publishes what purports to be a telegraphic despatch from the Governor-General of the Soudan to the Minister of the Interior, in reply to the above, dated 20th Nov., 1880, but we note that no place is mentioned from which the telegram was sent.

From this we make the following extracts:—

"I have received your Excellency's despatch of the 11th inst., relative to the article published in the *Times* about the slave-trade. The author of that article animated by hostile intention, ought to have known that the facts that he mentions occurred when Gordon Pasha was Governor-General of the Soudan, and that those who carried on this hateful traffic, such as Mohammed Bey, Hussein Bey and Mohammed Tab, were appointed by him as Governors of Provinces. These Governors have been recalled, and some are dead.

"Ibrahim Fausi Bey, to whom Gordon entrusted the governorship of Bahr Gazelle, has been dismissed the service. More than two years have passed since the facts happened which the *Times* now records. Nobody was found then to inform the journals of what happened, though they take advantage of the *Times* now to attack the present authorities of the Soudan."

More of the same kind follows, but we beg to observe that the telegram in no way answers the accusations made in the *Times'* letter, many of which are stated to have occurred from April to June, 1880, long after Gordon Pasha had left the country, and not two years ago as stated in the telegram.

Raouf Pasha does not deny an accusation made against him by a recent traveller, that the passage tickets granted to the slaves in order that they may pass as *bonâ fide* servants of their masters, were granted at the Hokumdariéh Government Office, in Khartoum, and sealed with the seal of Raouf Pasha.

The facts referred to in our letter to the *Times* of Oct. 27, are also published at greater length in our last issue (pp. 117, 118).

#### EGYPT AND ABYSSINIA.

LETTERS have reached the office of the Anti-Slavery Society from trustworthy sources which show the imminent probability of war between these two countries, and the following letter was forwarded to the *Times*, and published by that journal on the 23rd November. It is noteworthy that up to the present date no official contradiction of the report has appeared:—

"(To the Editor of the *Times*.)

"SIR,—It is to be feared there is but little hope that war between Egypt and Abyssinia will long be averted.

"A special notice from an undoubted authority has just reached this office that orders have been issued from Cairo to drive back the Abyssinians by force. Two thousand troops are at Keren, and a battalion under Alaidin Pasha has been sent to Sanhit, to which place Raouf Pasha will immediately repair. It is stated that 16,000 soldiers have left Cairo.

"From a German missionary in Abyssinia we also hear that King John is convinced that it is the intention of Egypt to attack him, and he has issued orders to all Mussulmans to be baptized or to leave the country. Thus this war will partake in some measure of the nature of a religious war, with its accompanying horrors.

"King John expects to enlist the sympathies of the Christian nations of Europe, and these ought to be so far given him as to insist upon the ceding to Abyssinia of a port in the Red Sea. There will be little chance of a permanent peace so long as Egypt is allowed to shut off Abyssinia from communication with the civilized world.

"I am, Sir, yours faithfully,

"CHARLES H. ALLEN, *Secretary,*  
*"British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society,*  
*"55, New Broad Street, London, E.C.,*  
*"Nov. 22."*

The *Daily News* of 6th December publishes a contradiction of this statement from its correspondent in Alexandria, but we note that it is not official:—

"*Alexandria, Sunday.*

"The statements in an evening contemporary respecting recent movements of troops between Cairo and Abyssinia are devoid of foundation. Instead of 20,000 soldiers, 2,000 were sent to relieve the garrisons on the frontiers of Abyssinia, and 1,800 returned to Egypt."

The Foreign Office, more cautious in its action, sends the following letter stating that due inquiries will be made:—

"*Foreign Office, December 3, 1880.*

"SIR,—I am directed by Earl Granville to acknowledge the receipt of your letters, with their inclosures, of the 22nd and 23rd ultimo, relative to an apprehended outbreak of hostilities between Egypt and Abyssinia, and I am in reply to state to you, for the information of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, that his Lordship is in communication on this subject with Her Majesty's Agent and Consul-General in Egypt.

"I am, Sir,

"Your most obedient, humble servant,

"TENTERDEN.

"*The Secretary, British and Foreign*  
*Anti-Slavery Society, 55, New*  
*Broad Street."*

#### KING JOHN OF ABYSSINIA.

OUR correspondent, Mr. Johann Mayer, one of the former captives under King Theodore, and still a resident missionary at the Court of Menelek, King of Shoa, a vassal of King John, sends some interesting particulars of both those monarchs to the Basle "*Glaubensbok*," from which we make a few extracts.

Life in those regions cannot be very pleasant to a European, and it is not without danger to life and property. Still these excellent missionaries remain manfully at their post teaching the people the truths of Christianity and some of the blessings of civilisation. During a journey undertaken by order of King Menelek to a distant and newly formed town, Herr Mayer had his tent cut open by a thief, and his coat, trousers, and saddle stolen from him and



his mule also led off by the robbers. His life was saved by the arrival of the watch, but his position was critical.

#### HOT SPRINGS.

At a spot called Finfini, the missionaries inspected the natural steam baths of that district. There is a large outflow of the boiling water and over the hot stream the natives erect wooden huts in which they sit and perspire profusely. These baths are much patronised by the Abyssinians.

The two missionaries, Mayer and Greiner, visited the newly laid-out town of Entoto, which is situated amongst the mountains, in a country rich in iron, and with many forges already at work. Here, too, in the red iron-stone soil, they saw capabilities of growing many kinds of European grain and other valuable products, and here they naturally look forward to plant in the future a mission station on a salubrious site. There is, however, a turbulent and dangerous Galla population at present in that country, though friendly to the missionaries. The king promised to let the Europeans go to Entoto to live, but at the date of writing their departure was delayed, in the manner usual in those countries.

Herr Mayer also states that King Menelek, by command of King John, has caused the following edict to be proclaimed by a herald:—"All Mussulmans in my kingdom must allow themselves to be baptised and become Christians. The various district Governors are to see this command carried out." King John enforced the same stringent law in his own country and banished all who would not consent to become Christians, of whom there were very few.

He destroyed all their mosques and built churches on the sites. Soon afterwards King John summoned the Roman Catholic Bishop and said to him, "I will allow no foreign teachers in my kingdom, specially no Catholic bishops. After the rainy season you must leave the country."

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#### MURDER OF MUNZA, KING OF THE MONBUTTOS.

Those who have read Dr. Schweinfurth's "Heart of Africa" will remember his graphic description of Munza, King of the Monbuttos, at one time the great ally of the Egyptian Government, and for a long time

the vassal of Ismail Pasha. A correspondent of the *Times* gives the following account of King Munza's murder by a mudir of the present Egyptian Government:—

"The Sultans of the Monbuttos and the neighbouring tribes have the custom of giving their daughters in marriage to the principal chiefs who have shown conspicuous valour against the enemy. This special sovereign favour was always accompanied by grand *fêtes*, and presents were sent to the Arabs, consisting of fowls, goats, and other provisions. Munza and Ganga had many daughters, and these excited the cupidity of the Arabs; but both these Sultans were firm upon this question, preferring death to giving up their daughters of Royal blood to people who were not of their race. The tenacity of these Monbuttian chiefs exhausted the patience of Yussuf Bey and his Nazir, whom he had stationed near Munza. They determined to settle this question, which was done in the following manner:—The Nazir Fadlallah presented himself before Munza while that chieftain was at dinner with his family, and said to him, 'Wilt thou give me thy daughter or not?' Munza replied, 'As I have already said, 'I would rather die than destroy an hereditary custom.' 'Die, then,' replied Fadlallah, and discharged two shots into his breast. Munza died instantly, and the Arabs, who were fully prepared, laid violent hands upon Munza's family. Munza's brother, the Sultan Ganga, was assassinated at the same time by Yussuf Bey's own hand, and he also seized upon Ganga's family and conducted them to Rumbek. The two families of Munza and Ganga were divided among Fadlallah, Yussuf Bey, and Hassan Ibrahim. Munza's eldest son, Ingiria, was immediately barbarously mutilated, and given as a present to the father-in-law of Yussuf. This young man, aged from seventeen to eighteen years, actually escaped, and arrived at the Bahr Gazall, where he gave the above information. As soon as this assassination was completed a Monbuttian slave, who had lived many years in the house of Yussuf Bey, was proclaimed Sultan, and became a facile tool in the hands of his ex-master, his special mission being the providing of eunuchs for the Egyptian market."

We have heard from an official source that this wretched ex-slave Sultan—eunuch

maker to Yuseuf Bey—performed his cruel work with such barbarous want of skill *that all the victims died under his hands.* This was too much, even for a slave-hunter, so he was deposed, and a brace of brothers was employed by Yussuf to carry on the horrible trade, and this they have done with more success! That is to say a few poor wretches survive, and fetch high prices in the Egyptian market. We are glad to know, however, that Gordon's excellent lieutenant, Gessi, is on their track, and he will speedily put the law in force against any eunuch-maker on whom he can lay his hands! Gessi is so well known that all slave-hunters give him a very wide berth.

### SLAVERY IN CUBA.

We publish a correspondence on this subject that has lately taken place between the Anti-Slavery Society and Her Majesty's Government, and we are glad to find that there appears some chance of a portion of the Africans still held in bondage in Cuba obtaining their liberty before the time fixed in the Emancipation Act lately passed by the Spanish Cortes.

*British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society,  
55, New Broad Street, E.C.*

*2nd July, 1880.*

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE EARL GRANVILLE, K.G., HER MAJESTY'S PRINCIPAL SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

MY LORD,—I have the honour to forward a petition from M. G. Rieckehoff, of Porto Rico, addressed to your Lordship on behalf of a coloured woman detained at the slave depôt at Havana, said negress being entitled to her freedom according to the treaty already made between Great Britain and Spain.

I also enclose translation of portion of a speech made by Senor de Labra—Deputy from Cuba in the Spanish Cortes—relative to this and to other infringements of the treaty which are openly made by the civil and military authorities of Cuba.

In calling your Lordship's attention to the special instances here enumerated, I would respectfully remind your Lordship that this Society has repeatedly urged upon Her Majesty's Government the necessity of calling upon the Government of Spain to carry out those articles of the treaty made

with Great Britain, in virtue of which all Africans who have been imported into Cuba since the year 1835 are illegally held in a state of bondage.

The Emancipation Act recently passed by the Spanish Cortes does not therefore carry out the obligations of Spain, because by treaties made in 1817 and 1835, and by the payment of a sum of £400,000 made by this country to Spain as a compensation for prospective losses, Great Britain has a right to demand that every African imported into Cuba since the year 1835, and still held in bondage, is entitled to full and immediate emancipation.

That a very strong feeling against the late incomplete Emancipation Act was existing in Spain, is shown in the extracts quoted in the *Anti-Slavery Reporter* for December, 1879, copy of which I have the honour to enclose.

With much respect,

Your Lordship's obedient servant,  
CHARLES H. ALLEN,  
*Secretary.*

*Foreign Office, November 15th, 1880.*

SIR,—With reference to my letter of the 15th of July last, I am directed by Earl Granville to state to you, for the information of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, that Her Majesty's Acting Consul-General at Havana has succeeded in ascertaining the following particulars respecting the alleged detention of a coloured woman named Isabel Salas, at the slave depôt at that place. She was remitted to the Slave Deposit by the Inspector of Vigilance of the 6th District of that city on the 21st of December last, in consequence of her not being able to produce her documents as a free woman. She was placed at the disposition of the Civil Governor of the Province, and still remains nominally in the deposit, waiting for someone to claim her, though practically, as Mr. Carden understands, she has been hired out for the benefit of the establishment.

Not having been able to ascertain as yet to whom she has been hired, or where she is living, Mr. Carden has not been able to verify the fact of her being African born, on which, as he apprehends any claim for her release would have to be based; and he is of opinion that were any question to be directed officially to the authorities on

the subject, the answer would be that her having being described as such was simply a clerical error.

I am, Sir,

Your most obedient humble servant,  
T. V. LISTER.  
*The Secretary, British and Foreign  
Anti-Slavery Society.*

*Foreign Office, November 22nd, 1880.*

SIR,—With reference to your letter of the 2nd of July last, I am directed by Earl Granville to state to you, for the information of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, that Her Majesty's Acting Consul General at Havana has forwarded to his Lordship an extract from the "Diario de la Marina," of the 18th September, containing a decree of the Captain-General to the effect that, in conformity with the terms of the law for the abolition of slavery, any "Patron who fails to pay his apprentices their monthly wages within fifteen days after they become due will lose all right or title to their labour, and the apprentices themselves will obtain their immediate freedom, subject only to the Government surveillance for four years.

Mr. Carden is of opinion that the eventual freedom of the majority of the slaves will be very considerably hastened by the enforcement of this order. A large proportion of the estates are so heavily indebted that it is impossible for their owners to find ready money at stated intervals for the payment of their employés, and very difficult for them even to get credit for stores and provisions.

Although only six months have now passed since the law came into force Mr. Carden knows of two estates where the slaves have obtained their freedom in this way.

Mr. Carden reports that a deputation of planters had waited upon the Captain-General to beg that it might be permitted for the "Patrons" to pay their apprentices at the end of crop-time, and not monthly; but that their petition has not been acceded to, which shows that the Government has anticipated the shortening of the term of servitude by this means, and is not disposed to take any steps to prevent it.

I am, Sir,

Your most obedient humble servant,  
T. V. LISTER.  
*The Secretary, British and Foreign  
Anti-Slavery Society.*

## LETTER FROM THE LATE CONSUL-GENERAL IN CUBA.

*London, 3rd December, 1880.*

DEAR MR. STURGE,—I am glad to inform you that the reports I have just received from Cuba are most encouraging, both as regards the emancipation of the slaves and the production of the island.

It is reported to me that the freedom of the slave population is progressing rapidly, as the slave owners are now fully convinced that the law enacted by the Spanish Cortes will be faithfully carried out.

The value of negro slaves has declined so materially that a great many of the negroes have been able to purchase their freedom, their owners, in many instances, accepting almost a nominal sum.

In several cases the slaves have been granted their freedom unconditionally, whilst others have been allowed to shift for themselves upon a monthly payment of four dollars to their owners for a limited period.

The law regarding children is being punctually observed, the children being declared free.

By a Government decree owners are obliged to pay their slaves their monthly wages within fifteen days of the expiry of the month, failing which the slaves are declared free. Many have already received their freedom in this manner, and it is thought that if the emancipation of the negroes continues in the same ratio as it has done since the Emancipation Act became law a very short time will suffice to complete the total manumission of the slave population in the island. There has already been a decrease of over one-third of that population since 1876.

The insurrection is now completely over, but it has left a heavy debt behind it, and there is scarcely a single planter who is solvent. There is little doubt that the proprietorship of the sugar and other plantations must eventually change hands, and that their working will require the strictest care and economy.

The same system which obtains in other places is being successfully employed in Cuba; I mean the job system. The Chinese, who are now properly protected under their own Consular supervision, have been, for some time past, engaged in intro-



ducing this species of labour. They are now freely permitted to work together in gangs, and it has been found that a Chinese contractor, with his sixty men, will take off a crop as efficiently and with far more economy than a planter with his 200 slaves could do under the old wasteful system.

The antipathy which formerly existed between the negroes and the Chinese has, in a great measure, subsided; in fact they now amalgamate freely, so that there need be no apprehensions regarding the production or prosperity of the island, inasmuch as the free negro will work with the Chinaman, and the superior intellect of the latter must always place him above the former.

The cultivation of Cuba will largely develop itself under the new system, and the fact of last crop producing, as it has done, 680,000 tons of sugar, is ample proof of the capabilities of the soil, in spite of the rapid transition which is taking place in the class of labour, and the onerous taxes and other burdens which have fallen so heavily upon the agricultural interests of the island.

Much no doubt will depend upon tariff and other economic reforms, to which the Spanish Government can no longer remain blind. Cheap food, which is one of the primary necessities in Cuba, should be secured by doing away with the flour and other monopolies, and as the United States consume 80 per cent. of that island's produce, giving a large trade in return, the negotiation of a special Treaty of Commerce between the two countries is of the most urgent necessity and paramount importance.

The present Governor-General of Cuba. General Blanco, who is most popular, has done much in bringing about the pacification of Cuba, and in causing the Emancipation Act to be observed, thereby seconding the liberal and enlightened views of his predecessor, General Martinez Campos.

You will, I am sure, be much pleased to learn these tidings from Cuba.

Yours most truly,

JOHN V. CRAWFORD.

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SOCIEDADE BRASILEIRA CONTRA  
A ESCRAVIDAO.  
(BRAZILIAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.)

We have received the Manifesto of this new Society, issued in Portuguese, French, and English. We regret that we have not

space to print this excellent document, which occupies more than six columns of the *Rio News*, but we gladly reprint an article from that paper—so conspicuous in advocating the cause of freedom—which gives a far better account of the formation of the Society than we could possibly draw up.

Under date Rio de Janeiro, October 5th, 1880, the *Rio News* thus writes:—

"In accordance with an announcement made some months ago and in great part under the impetus given by the late action of the Government in suppressing all efforts in Parliament for the better realisation of the work of emancipation in Brazil, a number of gentlemen met at the residence of Deputy Joaquim Nabuco, on the 7th ult., for the purpose of organising an Anti-Slavery Society. In view of the limited number of those who believe in the principle of immediate abolition, and of the desirability of uniting all shades of opinion, from the extreme abolitionist to the gradual emancipationist, it was not sought to lay down any fixed propositions beyond those upon which all could heartily agree—the limitation of Brazilian slavery within some definite period, the acceleration of emancipation, and the amelioration of the present status of the slave. Upon this basis it was felt that there was a wide field for active anti-slavery work, and that work it was resolved to undertake.

"The result of this first meeting, aside from the general discussion of the question, was the appointment of a committee on permanent organisation to report at a second meeting on the 28th of September—the ninth anniversary of the passage of the present Emancipation Law. In the interval which ensued the Committee entered into an active canvass in behalf of the movement, and succeeded in arousing such an interest and encouragement among thinking and influential men as to warrant the highest anticipations for its future success.

"On the 28th the second meeting was held under the presidency of Dr. Joaquim Francisco Alves Branco Muniz Barreto, and the "Sociedade Brasileira contra a Escravidao" was finally and definitely organised. The meeting was largely attended by deputies, journalists and professional men, all of whom were thoroughly in earnest, and resolved to begin the work of anti-slavery propaganda at once. There was no time lost in attempting a complicated organisation; the initiators of the movement were too much in earnest for any

such folly. As the purposes of the organisation were clearly defined in every mind, the new society went no further than to provide the necessary officers and resources for carrying on the work, arranging for future meetings and deciding upon the publication of a monthly journal. In thus avoiding the vexatious and unnecessary delays incident to the customary organisation of societies, in the appointment of committees to draw up constitutions and by-laws, and in the interminable discussions on the petty details of such documents, the new society has shown not only a rare good sense but also a determination to make its machinery subordinate to its work, its personality subordinate to its principles. In this it cannot be congratulated too highly. The manifesto, its declaration of principles and purposes—which we give elsewhere in full—had already been drawn up by Deputy Joaquim Nabuco, and was ready for distribution. It was decided to issue this document in English and French also, and to give it the widest circulation possible.

"The honorary officers of the Society, as chosen, are:—Honorary Presidents, Srs. Joaquim F. Alves Branco Muniz Barretto, Joaquim de Saldanha Marinho and Counsellor Beaurepaire Rohan; Honorary Secretary, Dr. Nicoláo Joaquim Moreira; Honorary Associate, Visconde do Rio Branco. The active work of the Society is entrusted to an Executive Committee of fifteen members, which will hold meetings at will, and will represent the organisation fully in all matters pertaining to the work in hand. The officers afterwards elected by this Committee, which are to all intents and purposes the active officers of the Society itself, are President, Deputy Joaquim Nabuco; Vice-Presidents, Srs. Adolpho de Barros and Marcolino Moura; Secretaries, Srs. José Americo dos Santos and José Carlos de Carvalho; Treasurer, Sr. André Rebouças. The work will be carried on with the least machinery possible, but with all the thoroughness and decisiveness which so just a cause demands.

"The Executive Committee proposes to call a Congress of Abolitionists for the month of August, 1881, and to begin the publication of an Abolition paper at an early date."

The Secretary of the Brazilian Society addressed the following letter to the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society; introducing their newly-formed Association to the notice of the Parent Society:—

"Rio de Janeiro, October 8, 1880.

"SIR,—I am directed by the Brazilian Anti-Slavery Society to communicate its organisation in Rio de Janeiro, to the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society.

"By our 'Manifesto,' and the last issue of the *Rio News*, of which I have the pleasure of sending you a few copies, you will see what the purposes of our Society are, and I believe that they will meet your hearty approval.

"Hoping to soon enter into direct and frequent exchange of communications with your Society on every subject relative to Slavery, I have the honour to be,

"Dear Sir,

"Your obedient servant,

"JOSE AMERICOS DOS SANTOS,  
"Secretary."

"C. H. ALLEN, Esq.,

"Secretary of the British and Foreign  
"Anti-Slavery Society."

To this letter a reply was forwarded to Brazil, enclosing the following Minute passed by the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society:—

"THE BRAZIL ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

"That the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society has received with pleasure and satisfaction the Manifesto of the Sociedade Brasileira contra a Escravidaao, and looks upon the establishment of this Society as one of the most striking proofs that slavery as an institution must ere long cease to exist—not only in the Empire of Brazil, but throughout the whole of the civilised world.

"The British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, therefore, tender their hearty congratulations, and the expression of the hope that by a constant interchange of communications the state of slavery in the Empire of Brazil and the condition of the slaves will be more fully made known to the general public of Great Britain and of America than has hitherto been possible.

"The objects set forth in the Manifesto are cordially approved by the Society in London, who will be at all times ready to co-operate with the Brazil Society in their endeavours to destroy the curse of slavery in Brazil."

"55, New Broad Street, London,  
"17th Nov., 1880."

## SLAVE POPULATION IN BRAZIL.

(From the *Times*.)

"By such meagre accounts as we have, the population in 1872 was only a little above ten millions, and had not increased by more than two-and-a-half millions since 1856. It may now be presumed to be about twelve millions. Of these, a little less than four millions were, at the last census numbered as 'Caucasians,' or pure whites; two millions were 'Africans,' or negroes; 400,000 'Americans,' or tame Indians; and four millions of mixed blood, mulattoes or mestizos. Besides these there were the wild Indian tribes, vaguely estimated at 200,000, 400,000, or even one million.

"All this, however, is mere guesswork, and it is extremely likely that the number of the pure whites was overrated, and that of the dark or blended complexions far exceed the official statement. The important point is that of the two millions of Africans, or of their offspring, one million and a-half were slaves, and nearly all the hard work of the country fell to their lot. By the law of September, 1871, which emancipated all unborn children, and by other charitable measures, the number of slaves, according to Ministerial reports, is now reduced to 1,119,168, and it is understood that before the end of this century there must be an end of all slavery, the living generation of bondsmen either dying off or being gradually enfranchised. Eager abolitionists, however, loudly charge the Government with prevarication on this subject. They contend that the number of slaves has increased rather than diminished; they complain of the 'illegal reduction to slavery of freed and free blacks, of the sale of freeborn children of slave mothers, and of the unchecked traffic of Indian children on the Amazon,' &c. And they conclude, 'As the case now stands, gradual emancipation is a failure and a fraud.'

"I must leave the Brazilian Government to clear itself from this imputation of bad faith as it can. I have never been blind to the difficulties besetting this question wherever it arises. The abolition of slavery has been imposed on all Christian States upon principles which admit of no discussion. But it was a fatal necessity, and wherever it was sudden, general, and simultaneous, it has entailed grave calamitous consequences. The Brazilians, taught by the example of other nations, hoped to break, as it were, the fall of their slave system by going to work deliberately

and gradually. But they are greatly mistaken if they hope to 'put off the evil day' by the evasion of their own laws, and the tolerance of an underhand traffic. There has been of late an active transfer and barter of slaves, bringing a large number of them to localities where slave or negro labour seemed least required. The greatest number are now in the provinces of Rio Janeiro, Bahia, Minas Geraes, and San Paulo, where many are employed in domestic service; and there are frequent cases in which German and English subjects purchase and hold slaves in defiance of the laws of their respective countries. All this, however, will avail little. Slavery is doomed; and Brazil, by tampering with what she has established as right, will only eventually have to yield to might. The Negrophiles, both in and out of the country, will not long be put off with mere shams.

"If we take it for granted that within twenty years at the utmost the work of emancipation must be completed, it becomes interesting to inquire to what extent such a measure may influence either the well-being of the slaves themselves or the general productive power of the land. Judging from such precedents as we have in the West Indies or in the United States, one would say that the negro is not a man to work as cheerfully or as efficiently from choice as he is apt to do on compulsion, or even to take as much care of himself, of his home and family, in a state of freedom as he does in the keeping of a humane and provident master. The Brazilians have decreed that the rising generation of freedmen should be fitted for the condition to which they are called by a long apprenticeship, and by an education which they must receive either at the hands of their masters or at the expense of the State. But the question is whether it will be possible, mentally or morally, to 'wash the negro white;' to bring him by any amount schooling to do as much work, and precisely of that kind of work, as he performed under the dread of the overseer's whip; whether any persuasion will win his consent to that condition of mere drudge of the community for which it was taken for granted that he was naturally intended. The emancipated negro like the Indian, the mulatto, and the mestizoi will stand on the white man's birthright to do just as much work as will supply his own immediate wants, and it will only be in rare individual cases that his requirements will act



as a stimulus to very earnest and sustained exertion. Considerations for his employer's interests or for those of the State, and even the hope of 'bettering himself,' will hardly counterbalance the instinct which prompts him, as it prompts the Neapolitan or Sevillian, to enjoy his leisure as the greatest charm of existence.

"The mere fact that the majority of coloured freedmen have flocked to the cities and looked for domestic service may be taken as an earnest of what will become of sugar, cotton, and other plantations when the whole slave race has ceased to exist. It is supposed, indeed, that coffee may thrive in the hands of white labourers; but at the estate of Rio Bonito, where slave labour is carried on with equal regard to economy and humanity, there is a firm conviction that the full enforcement of the law of 1871 must be a deathblow to their industry. And again, other planters, aware that the days of slavery are numbered, work their land to utter exhaustion, anxious to get as much profit out of it as they can with their slaves, and convinced that with final abolition their property will have to be abandoned as valueless. This, as we may remember, is what happened in Virginia before the civil war; and here, as there, the price of slaves has risen with every step the country has made towards abolition. An able-bodied negro will fetch £200, and even £300, at the Brazilian slave markets.

"The Government here withholds the publication of all particulars respecting colour. We know very little as to the real number of negroes, Indians, mulattoes, or mestizos. We have no statement of the increase or diminution of any of these races, of their respective vitality, or reproductive powers. We are vaguely left to surmise that mortality is greater among the emancipated slaves than it was among the same people in a state of bondage; that in the blending of races colour is apt to deepen; and that the mixed has little power of multiplication, unless it draws from the primitive sources at every new generation. Finally, that, although the mixed race mulatto, quadroon, or octoroon may individually attain great beauty, and even develop rare intellectual faculties, it exhibits, in the mass, the bad rather than the good qualities of the parent stems, and on the lowest cunning and knavery of the White it engrafts the supine indolence and the stolid improvidence of the Black.

"Yet there is no doubt that this hybrid race constitutes at least three-fourths of the Brazilian nation, and that up to very recent times the country depended upon it for all its rough and dirty work. The Brazilians dwell, with good reason, on the fact, honourable to them, that they are entirely free from the ungenerous prejudice with which the people of the United States look upon their 'niggers;' and it is very true that here, in railway carriages or in tramway cars, you may see any day some baroness or viscountess, refulgent in all the snow-white and pink of the most perfect Caucasian complexion, seated near a hideous Ethiopian, without any apparent squeamishness or mutual repulsion. We are told, indeed, that in good old white families the line is rigidly drawn against intermarriage; but this can hardly be the rule among the lowest classes, where all seems cast together into a motley, mongrel community."

After some most valuable information respecting immigration of foreigners into Brazil, the writer makes the following very judicious remarks:—

"But, after all, if the Brazilians fail in all attempts to bring in labour from abroad, why should they not look at home for it. If slavery was a sin, it has wrought out its penance, and with abolition may come redemption. Time and necessity will dispel that prejudice which in slave-holding communities degraded labour by associating it with the idea of servitude, they will do away with the fond notion that the old settlers have a right to own the land, and that it is the new-comers' duty to till it. Why should the Black alone, or the Red, or the Yellow, or the German and Irish, dig and delve in America, while the free and independent Creole only looks on? Are not these Creoles aware that of the immigrants themselves, and especially of the Italians, Portuguese, &c., the greatest number have left their homes out of invincible repugnance to field labour? Will the peasant, who has thrown down the spade in his father's field, and crossed the ocean with a vague hope of becoming a free citizen and a gentleman, take up that spade again at a slave-owner's bidding? It will be long before agriculture is held in the estimation it deserves in the Old World itself; but, in the New, to bring freemen back to the plough must be the work of a social progress amounting almost to a revolution.

"And yet we must come to this. The stream of emigration will not for ever flow, nor will available land always be had at discretion. American equality has too long been based on the degradation of alien races—of the Pariahs from Africa, Europe, or Asia, whom violence or want drove across the ocean. It is full time there should be an American people having all the elements of social existence in itself, supplying out of its own ranks as much the classes doomed to work as the classes privileged, in obedience to the immutable instincts of human nature, to enjoy the fruit of other people's work.

Were Brazil at any time to look to its existing population for the development of its resources, it would soon find that it has in itself, if not all the elements of greatness, at least all the requisites for happiness. Its coloured people will probably not do as much work as freedmen as they did in bondage. The whites will not be able to exert themselves to much purpose in the valley of the Amazon or in any of the lowlands of the northern provinces. But in Rio Grande, Santa Catarina, Minas Geraes, and other southern or mountainous districts, where life is enjoyable, work—any kind of work—may be practicable. South and west of Rio Janeiro there is a territory as vast as all Europe, minus Russia and Turkey, almost as temperate, fully as productive. To have brought slavery back to these provinces, where it was unnecessary, was a backward step. It was, if not a crime, at least one of those fatal mistakes which will have to be repaired at any cost."

The usual argument that the negro will not work if he is not compelled by the lash of the overseer is here reproduced. The fallacy of such reasoning has been demonstrated over and over again, as is shown by the vast and steady increase of cotton exported from the United States since the abolition of slavery.

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COLONEL GORDON'S REMARKS ON  
THE "ILLUSTRATED BUDGET"  
&c., INSERTED IN, "L'EGYPTE" 19TH  
NOVEMBER, 1880.

(To the Editor of the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*.)

SIR,—In a number of *L'Egypte*, dated November, is a criticism on my administration of the Soudan, which, summed up, states that the country was ruined by me. This is

an opinion entitled to consideration, if emitted by a person of authority capable of forming a judgment on the subject, but being anonymous it can only have the weight due to such a class of correspondents.

In the number of *L'Egypte*, 19th November, appears what evidently was hoped to be a *coup de grace*, viz., a fac-simile, in my own handwriting, of one of the Ministerial Budgets I made out for Sir R. Wilson.

Every three months these Budgets were made out, in Arabic. I translated some few for our Consuls-General and other European *employés* at Cairo.

They were not secret documents, and had the whole series been published they would have shown a reduction of expenses and the discharge of debts.

These Budgets show that I went personally into every detail, for with them were appendices showing every *employé* in the Soudan.

Had the anonymous writer been able to prove that I had concealed this state of affairs, or that I had created the debt, it might have counted against me; but this he never could do.

I should not have noticed these articles had it not been evident by this very Budget that I personally went into the details of the Soudan finances; this very Budget confirms my statement in the *Times*, that the revenues of Soudan are not sufficient to meet the increased expenses of the additional forces sent to the Soudan, since I left. Where, then, do these sums come from?

The Budget shows also that there are vast provinces which, from every point of view, ought to be evacuated; they are in deficit, never can be productive, and are the seat of the slave-hunting.

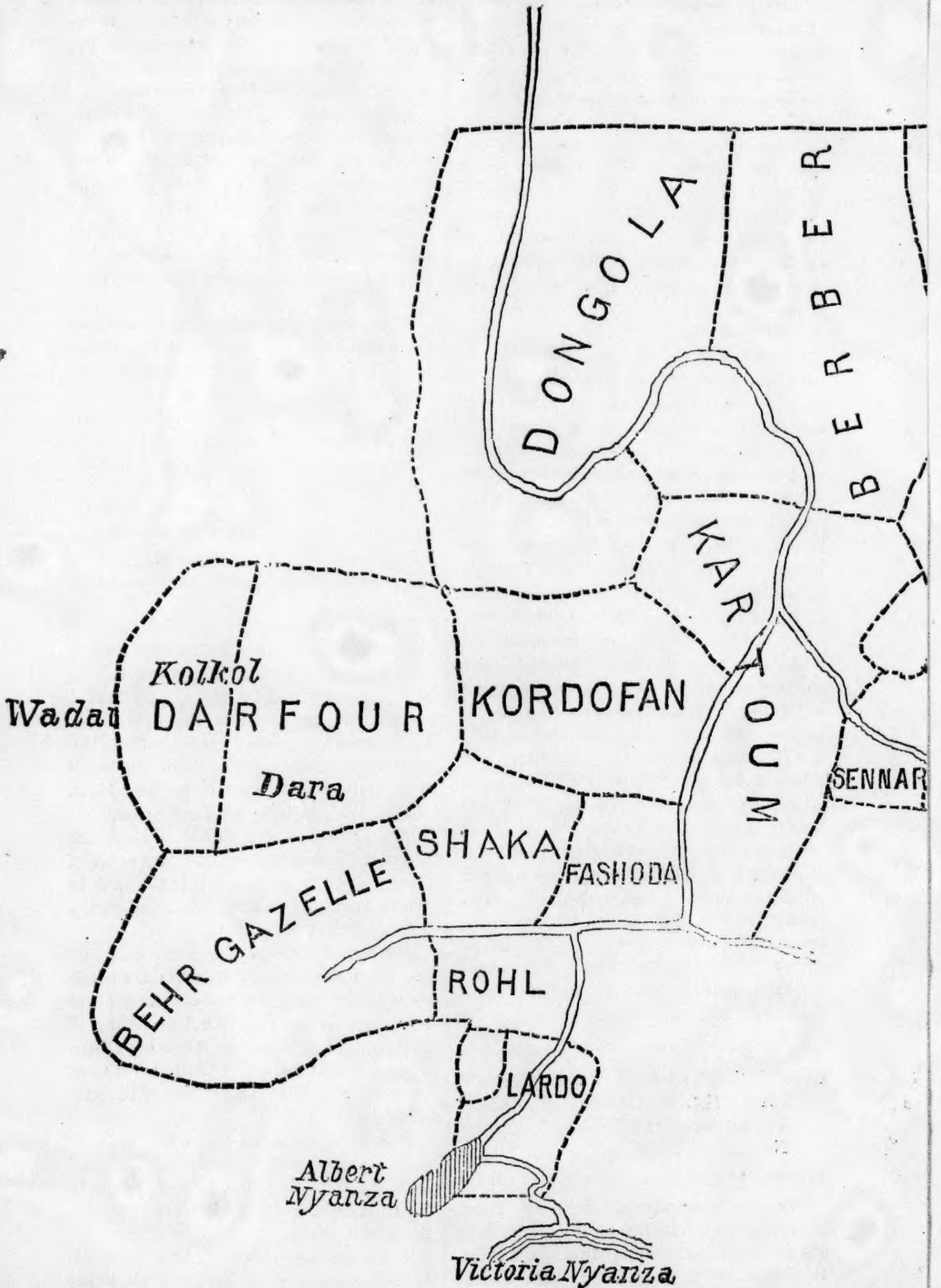
The writer complains that the totals do not tot up correct. I own it; the whole fac-simile shows it was made in haste; and I dare say in copying the Arab figures I made mistakes; but the Arab copy was there, and was correct; I translated it so as to give Sir R. Wilson some idea of the state of affairs.

It is to be regretted that when the man who abstracted this "Illustrated Budget" from the *Malia*, in Cairo, with my letters to Sir R. Wilson, was about it, he did not take the Arabic copy.

The writer says that *the taxes which it will be able to recover*, i.e. £176,899, added to the

REDUCED SKELETON MAP OF CO

(The figures, which were originally written in e





vince on the map, will be found on page 148.)



*taxes impossible to recover, i.e. £72,620 do not make more than £252,591; but if he added taxes already levied, i.e. £184,634, I think he will find the amount of taxes by law, i.e. £444,225.*

I repeat, then, to the Controllers and creditors, *Where do the funds for these increased expenses in Soudan come from?* and, whether the useless slave-providing districts ought not to be evacuated?

C. G. GORDON.

December 2nd, 1880.

EXPLANATION OF COLONEL GORDON'S  
ILLUSTRATED BUDGET OF THE SOUDAN,  
SKETCH MAP OF WHICH IS PUBLISHED HEREWITH.

DONGOLA—

Troops, 279.	£
Annual receipts . . . . .	62,699
Expenses . . . . .	10,844
Surplus . . . . .	£51,855

	£
Debts . . . . .	1,041
Taxes by law (annual) . . . . .	62,271
Taxes collected . . . . .	31,504
Taxes that may probably be collected . . . . .	30,777
Taxes impossible to collect . . . . .	8,676

BERBER—

Troops, 480.	£
Annual receipts . . . . .	41,203
Expenses . . . . .	24,795
Surplus . . . . .	£16,410

	£
Debts . . . . .	20,213
Taxes by law . . . . .	39,626
Taxes collected . . . . .	18,611
Taxes that may probably collected . . . . .	21,015
Taxes impossible to collect . . . . .	11,015

SUAKIM—

Troops, 1,151.

MASOWA—

Annual receipts :	£
Masowa . . . . .	18,364
Suakim . . . . .	18,493
	36,857
Annual expenses :	
Masowa . . . . .	17,978
Suakim . . . . .	13,578
	31,556

Surplus . . . . .	5,322
Debts :	
Suakim . . . . .	3,112
Masowa . . . . .	1,959
	5,071

Taxes by law :	
Suakim . . . . .	15,284
Masowa . . . . .	17,357
	32,641

Taxes collected :	£
Suakim . . . . .	8,352
Masowa . . . . .	3,493
	11,845

Taxes possible to collect :	
Suakim . . . . .	6,932
Masowa . . . . .	13,862

£20,794

KASALA—

Troops, 3,163.	£
Annual receipts . . . . .	63,176
Expenses . . . . .	55,236
Surplus . . . . .	£7,940

	£
Debts . . . . .	19,716
Taxes by law . . . . .	62,338
Taxes collected . . . . .	35,899
Taxes possible to collect . . . . .	26,439
Taxes impossible to collect . . . . .	9,300

KARTOUM—

Troops, 1,922.	£
Annual expenses . . . . .	136,968
Receipts . . . . .	118,583
Deficit . . . . .	£18,385

	£
Debts . . . . .	128,654
Taxes by law . . . . .	79,165
Taxes collected . . . . .	29,489
Taxes possible to collect . . . . .	49,725
Taxes impossible to collect . . . . .	24,103

KORDOFAN—

Troops, 1,476.	£
Annual receipts . . . . .	74,256
Annual expenses . . . . .	38,998
Surplus . . . . .	£35,258

	£
Debts . . . . .	13,807
Taxes by law . . . . .	72,625
Taxes collected . . . . .	24,032
Taxes possible to be collected . . . . .	48,594
Taxes impossible to be collected . . . . .	8,359

DARFOUR—

	Troops.	
Fascher	4,921	Fascher and Dara.
Dara	1,100	Kolkol.
Kolkol	6,021	

	£
Annual expenses . . . . .	130,000
Receipts . . . . .	17,000
Deficit . . . . .	£113,000
Debts . . . . .	£99,433

SHAKA—

Troops, 1,058.	£
Annual expenses . . . . .	26,351
Annual receipts . . . . .	18,994
Deficit . . . . .	£7,357
Debt, £341	

## SENNAR—

Troops, 1,249.	£
Annual receipts . . . .	52,615
Expenses . . . . .	30,406
Surplus . . . . .	£22,209
Debts, £7,434.	£
Taxes by law . . . .	51,321
Taxes collected . . . .	25,513
Taxes possible to collect . .	25,807
Taxes impossible to collect . .	11,237

## FASHODA—

Troops, 910.

## PROVINCE OF THE EQUATOR—

Troops, 3,563.	£
Annual expenses . . . .	47,000
Annual receipts . . . .	8,000
Deficit . . . . .	£39,000

## PROVINCE OF ZEILA, &amp;C.—

Troops, 34,000.	£	£
Annual expenses :		
Berberah . . . .	17,229	
Zeila . . . . .	5,061	
Harar . . . . .	43,281	
		65,571
Annual receipts :		
Berberah . . . .	1,767	
Zeila . . . . .	4,359	
Harar . . . . .	45,164	
		51,280
Deficit . . . . .		14,241
Debts . . . . .		3,761

## SUMMARY.

## SOUDAN AND RED SEA PROVINCES—

Troops, 24,622.	£
Annual expenditure . . . .	656,875
Annual receipts . . . . .	551,103
Deficit . . . . .	105,772
Debts . . . . .	300,379
Government debentures, £198,461, of which £30,888 are possible to collect.	
	£
Taxes established by law . .	444,225
Taxes collected . . . . .	184,634
Taxes possible to be collected .	176,899
Taxes impossible to be collected	72,692

## COOLIES IN THE ISLAND OF REUNION.

WE called attention in our last number (page 105) to the sad condition of Indian coolies in Réunion. Since then we are glad to find that action has been taken in the matter, though at present the result is not

very satisfactory. We trust, however, that the French and English Governments will speedily find some means of putting a stop to the enormities which are now carried on, and which are in reality nothing short of slavery.

The *Daily News* thus writes on this subject:—

“A short time before the close of the Session Sir Charles Dilke stated, in reply to a question put to him by Mr. A. McArthur, that steps were about to be taken to consider and improve the position of the Indian labourers who, under the provisions of a convention between England and France, have been taken to the French colony of Réunion, or Bourbon. We learn that two experienced gentlemen, representing the English Foreign Office—Sir Frederick Goldsmid and Mr. Wyld—are now in Paris conferring with the French Government on this subject. A year or two ago Sir Frederick Goldsmid visited Réunion, and made an elaborate report on the condition and treatment of the Indians. Mr. Wyld was for many years Superintendent of the Slave-Trade Department in the Foreign Office. It is therefore certain that the interests of the coolies could not be entrusted to better hands. That this conference has not taken place one day too soon will be admitted by all who are familiar with the treatment of the Indian labourers in the French colony. Subjects of her Majesty who have been introduced into a foreign country for the purpose of supplying labour to the sugar estates, they have no knowledge either of the language or the ways of the planters, and are practically dependent upon the goodwill of men who have not yet had time to divest themselves of the traditions and customs of slavery. The resident English Consul cannot protect them, for he has no power to interfere with the local administration, or even to inspect the plantations. Moreover, the present Consul, who was actually brought to the colony from Japan, had no previous acquaintance either with the Indians or with the complicated system under which they are indentured. If the testimony of trustworthy observers may be accepted, large numbers of our Indian fellow-subjects in the island are reduced to a condition of slavery, in which even any effort on their part to complain to the Consul is constantly treated as a punishable offence. The English delegates, in bringing these facts before the French Government, will discuss with them large and comprehensive reforms which, it is understood, Sir Frederick Goldsmid considers indispensable. After Sir Frederick and his colleague have performed the task which has been allotted to them, it will be for Lord Granville and Lord Hartington to consider whether it is really possible, under any system which may be devised, to secure adequate protection for Indian indentured labourers in a dependency not under the direct government or control of England. This is a subject which manifestly calls for grave consideration.”



Later intelligence unfortunately states that the gentlemen appointed have been unable to agree as to a *modus operandi*, and we hope that our Government will now stop the emigration of coolies for Réunion.

### JAMAICA AND COOLIE IMMIGRATION.

THE ostensible purpose of bringing East Indian coolies to Jamaica is to increase the production of sugar, and thus by increasing production and wealth to promote the general benefit of the community. Its actual results have been to keep down the rate of wages, to stimulate the *emigration* of the best and strongest of the native labourers, and to burden the colony with an enormous debt. Notwithstanding past failures the sugar planting interest is still striving to continue coolie immigration, and even to obtain a larger proportion of the cost from the public purse. In the *Tre-lawney* newspaper of January 20, 1880, we find it stated:—

"Immigration into Jamaica is clearly entering upon a new phase of existence. It was first regulated by laws which were considered unsatisfactory in their working, and consequently abandoned. After the establishment of the present form of Government, it was placed upon a different basis, which is substantially that upon which it rests to-day. A change is now proposed by which the immigration system in Jamaica will be brought into conformity with the same system in other sugar-producing colonies. In all these, except Jamaica, the general public contribute one-third of the cost of introducing East Indian coolies into the colony the other two-thirds being defrayed by the planting interest. In Jamaica, hitherto nearly the whole direct cost of immigration has been borne by the planting interest; the contributions from General Revenue being indirect, with the exception of £5,000 a year Colonisation Fund, and the public credit being pledged for the Immigration Loan, which amounts at present to £117,000. . . .

"To find whether the proposed change is just and expedient, we will examine the argument put forward on its behalf by the Hon. Henry Westmoreland, and partially coincided in by the Hon. Colonial Secretary.

"Mr. Westmoreland compactly divided his subject into two parts, under the heads—1st

*'That it is absolutely necessary for Revenue and progressive purposes that the sugar cultivation should not only be kept up, but if possible extended, and that this can only be effected by Coolie Immigration. 2nd. That sugar planters cannot afford to bear the whole of the cost of such immigration, and that as all classes benefit by it, the General Revenues should contribute to it.'*"

If Mr. Westmoreland, who is an influential member of the Legislative Council of the island were right, then Cobden and Bright were wrong in their advocacy of free-trade in the mother country. The Corn and Navigation Laws were advocated exactly on the same ground as Mr. Westmoreland's, viz., that they upheld industries that were important to the national well-being, and therefore that the national purse should help to support them. After many years of free-trade it is proved not only that the national well-being has been greatly promoted by the abolition of protection, but that the once-protected interests themselves have largely shared in the general benefit.

We believe the scarcity of native labour sometimes complained of has been caused in no small degree by the injustice put upon native industry by this importation of competing labour at the public expense. For every coolie brought into the island, we believe two or more prime labourers have left the island. In the official Jamaica Gazette of May 6th, 1880, the following appears as a marginal note to a statistical return:—

"KINGSTON.—No new industries for the employment of native labour have arisen, whilst a remarkable exodus occurred of able-bodied labourers to Panama and other places, which exodus still continues to be promoted by the agent of the Costa Rica Railway."

Can any one doubt that natives of Jamaica would prefer work in their own island if they were not unfairly handicapped by coolie immigration? Mr. T. Hughes (*Vacuus Viator* of the *Spectator*), writing from Tennessee, tells us that the negroes there crowd to every contractor or large employer of labour. The Jamaica black man is not of different nature to his brother in the United States. Let us look at the practical working of the system. The coolie, we

assume, receives the same wages as the native, but his labour is twice as costly because of the agency, shipping, hospital, and other outlay incurred on his behalf and paid for in chief part by the colony. If the actual cost of coolie labour were offered to first-class native labourers, it would be accepted eagerly. The effect of this would doubtless be to raise, more or less, the general rate of wages. This is plain, but it is not less so that coolie labour, thus artificially cheapened, depresses the labour tariff all round. It is not just to tax the general community for such an end. The injustice becomes more manifest and glaring when we find that the bulk of the revenue of the island is derived from articles of necessary consumption, such as flour, salt-fish, and Manchester goods. Of such articles the labouring population are obviously the chief consumers. Their food and clothing are heavily taxed to keep down the market price of their own labour! How long is this manifest injustice to be perpetuated?

T. H.

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#### PROPOSED RAILWAY ACROSS THE DESERT OF SAHARA.

"COLONEL FLATTERS left Wargla on March 3rd, and appears to have met with no difficulty in reaching El-Moukhonh (N. lat 26°), in the Asgaz Tuareg country, some 466 miles south of Wargla, and 155 miles south of Timasanin. Though well received by these Tuaregs, Colonel Flatters was unable to meet with any chief among them of sufficient authority, with whom he could enter into negotiations on behalf of the French Government. He found that the real head of these tribes—a very aged man, who is said to be under Turkish influence—lived at Ghat, and he accordingly put himself into communication with him. These negotiations, however, becoming very protracted, without any satisfactory result being attained, and provisions, &c., beginning to run short, Colonel Flatters returned to Algeria in May, and has since arrived in France. It is stated that he will resume his surveys and explorations after the hot season is over, probably during the month of October. More solid results would appear to have been achieved by the expedition under M. Choisy, an engineer of *Ponts et Chaussées*, who returned to Constantine, after thoroughly

examining the country between Wad Rirh and El Golea; he also made a detailed survey of this region in regard both to its geological formation and to the configuration of the soil. Between Wargla and El Golea the expedition devoted especial attention to determining the elevation of all the affluents of Wady Mia, which they first met with after passing Zazaia. The chief results of M. Choisy's expedition may be considered to be the accurate determination of the lines of depression in this region of the Sahara, and the reconnoitering of the passages across the belt of sandhills which bar the route to In-Salah, in the Tnat oasis. M. Choisy has lately returned to Paris, and has addressed a preliminary report on his labours to the Governor-General of Algeria."—*Proceedings of Royal Geographical Society*.

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#### ELIZABETH COMSTOCK AND THE EXODUS FROM THE SOUTHERN STATES.

BY SARAH K. BOLTON.

IN our last number we gave a few particulars of the sufferings and cruelties that are endured by the coloured freedmen of the South. We now extract from the *Congregationalist* a short sketch of the benevolent Quaker lady who has devoted her life to the cause of helping the poor refugees in Kansas, together with some remarks upon the present and future condition of the coloured race in the United States. We regret that we have not room for more than a small portion of the interesting article.

"Having long been acquainted with this gentle Quaker preacher, sixty-three years old, whose philanthropic work in English and American prisons, and elsewhere, is so well known, I visited her recently in Boston to hear from her own lips the condition of the 40,000 coloured refugees who have come to Kansas during the past year. Since last October, without a cent of remuneration, she and her daughter, Mrs. De Greene, have given night and day to these poor people. Mrs. Comstock, through her voice and pen, has raised thousands of dollars for them, and has visited, at the earnest solicitation of Governor St. John, the Governors of Nebraska and Illinois, which States have willingly opened their doors to these people, and have received four thousand of them. Now she has come to New England to interest us in the work.

"Whatever may be thought of the wisdom of the Exodus, that 40,000 coloured people have already come North is a fact, and that 100,000 more will come before the year closes, Governor St. John says there is no doubt. The exodus was no sudden uprising. For years the coloured people have had secret societies among themselves, looking toward their escape from a bondage that has seemed to them quite as bad as SLAVERY, saving their five and ten cents at a time, till some of them had one or two hundred dollars apiece. There is now at the South a secret Coloured Colonization Council with 93,000 members. . . . . Why did these people come? Allowing that the stories told by them may not all be correct, the testimony of many Northerners who have been South proves that they cannot all be falsehoods. Evidently the 'Fool's Errand' is no fiction."

After enumerating various horrors, the following shocking picture is drawn:—

"The negroes are constantly cheated, and their children are not educated. Their lives are not secure, and it is the universal testimony that every woman's virtue is at the mercy of the whites! If the husbands defend their wives, they are hurried off to gaol for insolence. In Louisiana, five men being missed from a neighbourhood, one of their wives, feeling confident that they had been killed, hunted through the swamps and found them piled together with ropes around their necks, and buzzards feeding on their bodies.

"Next to the persecuted Pilgrims' crossing the dreary ocean in mid-winter to the sterile coasts of a land of savages for freedom's sake history hardly furnishes a more touching picture than that of 40,000 homeless, friendless, starving people coming to a land already consecrated with bloodshed for liberty. Some came in teams from Texas, with great horned oxen, and little steers in front no bigger than calves, drawing their eager load. Worn and weary with a nine weeks' journey, the travellers strained their eyes toward the land of hope, blindly yet beautifully 'trustin' de good Lord.' Often they buried their dead as soon as they arrived, many dying on the hard floor of the hastily-built wooden barracks before beds could be provided, but praying all night long, and saying, touchingly: 'Come, Lord Jesus. Come quickly. Come with dyin' grace in one hand and savin' love in the other.'

"Those who took land a year ago are now self-sustaining. The Relief Association at first

supplied them with stoves, teams and seed. In round numbers, since the exodus began, 40,000 dols. have been used, and 500,000 pounds of clothing, bedding, &c. England has contributed 50,000 pounds of goods and 8,000 dols. in money; the chief givers being Mrs. Comstock's friends who knew her in her good work abroad. Much of the remainder has come in small sums, and from the Christian women of America. One-third was furnished by the Society of Friends. Ohio has given more than any other State. The State and municipal funds of Kansas have not been drawn upon by them at all, though much has come from private sources.

"During the first year in Kansas the freedmen have entered upon 20,000 acres of land, and have ploughed and fitted for grain growing 3,000 acres. They have built 300 cabins, and have accumulated 30,000 dols. In Topeka, where there are about 3,000 refugees, nearly all paupers when they came, all have found means in some way to make a living. These people have shown themselves worthy of aid. Mrs. Comstock has heard of only five or six cases of intoxication in nine months, and of no arrests for stealing. They do not want to settle where there is no church, and are all eager to have a Bible and to learn. Schools have been opened for the adults—the public schools of Kansas wisely making no distinction on account of colour—and also industrial schools, especially for women, who are quite ignorant of the ordinary duties of home life. . . . The question arises—What is to be done with these people? They will not go back to the South. The black men have never been urged to come to Kansas; indeed the Relief Association sent Rev. W. O. Lynch, a coloured man, to the South to dissuade them; but still they come, and common humanity must not let them starve. Governor St. John and Mrs. Comstock are bringing a plan before capitalists whereby large tracts of land may be sold to the freedmen in forty-acre lots, teams and tools being provided, the whole to be paid for at the end of five years. With proper supervision, it is believed by many prominent men that such a scheme would be a wise pecuniary investment. It certainly would be a humane and noble provision for this oppressed but industrious people. They would be valuable workers in New England, as they have already proved themselves to be at the West. Much pecuniary help is needed, and



our women can do no better home missionary work than by giving it. Boxes of clothing also are most welcome, and especially bed ticking."

The following editorial from the *Daily News* of 6th Dec., 1880, will show that we have not exaggerated the case of the flying negroes in our various statements:—

"The negro exodus from the Southern States of America seems likely to assume very serious proportions this winter. Thousands of the coloured population are already leaving Louisiana and Alabama as fast as they can, and there is every probability that the flight will go on all through the winter. The reason for this is not very far to seek. Last year the flight of the blacks from the Southern States would have been very great. Their sufferings and the hardships they endured at the hands of the 'Southern gentlemen' were so severe that they could hardly fare worse elsewhere. Some of the Southern men, however, took alarm at the threatened departure, and promised to behave better in future to their coloured fellow-citizens. These promises, and the advice of many of their well-wishers, who thought the movement unwise, induced the negroes to remain for the time. But in spite of the Southern pledges they have been treated just as badly as ever—cheated on all hands and 'bulldosed' on the slightest provocation. Hence the revival of the scheme of migration. A great number of the coloured people are resolved to seek a home elsewhere than in the sunny South, but the question is, where are they to go? There exist among the coloured men a number of organisations got up for the purpose of aiding the emigration; but the money these organisations can command is but little; only enough in some cases to bear its members as far on their way as St. Louis. It is now proposed by some friends of the negroes to found a black colony in New Mexico, and several hundred thousand acres of land have already been bought for the purpose."

## Review.

### GARRISON AND HIS TIMES.\*

(Continued from page 103.)

WE left Garrison and the New England Anti-Slavery Society engaged in their great

\* Boston: Russell & Co. London: Trübner and Co. 1880.

struggle against oppression and wrong. The intensity of *colorphobia* was at its height—nor would the presence of a "black" be tolerated in church, school, or public conveyance. We can form but a slight idea of the feeling that existed in those days. Hope died in the breast of the coloured man, for he exclaimed despairingly, "I can never be anything but a nigger." From this feeling of "caste," as well as from the curse of slavery, Garrison and the *Liberator* were to deliver the down-trodden bondsman.

Whilst the Rev. Leonard Buen was preaching in his "Christian Spectator" the doctrine, "You cannot raise a black man from the abyss of his degradation—you cannot bleach him into the enjoyment of freedom," Garrison was stoutly enforcing the equality of all men, be they white, black, or copper coloured. "I call," said he, "upon the spirits of the just made perfect in heaven, upon all who have experienced the love of God in their souls here below, upon the Christian converts in India and the islands of the sea, to sustain me in the assertion that there is power enough in the religion of Jesus Christ to melt down the most stubborn prejudices, to overthrow the highest walls of partition, to break the strongest caste, to improve and elevate the most degraded. Make me sure that there is not, and I will give it up now and for ever."

### THE BREEDING OF SLAVES.

Compare these noble words in defence of the rights of man with those of Mr. Gohlson, that "the right of the slave-holder to his *female slaves and their increase*, was the same as that to his brood mares and their foals!"

The *breeding of slaves* was at this time a crying evil, being carried on systematically for the profit it yielded. Mr. Garrison's thoroughness in the cause of IMMEDIATE EMANCIPATION brought him into collision with the amiable but selfish class who advocated the *colonisation* scheme. To them the idea was fixed, that, bad as slavery was, immediate emancipation was worse. They had no doubt that if the slaves were set free they would turn and massacre their late masters. The same idea now prevails in Cuba, Egypt, and Turkey. It is as false now as it was then. TOTAL AND IMMEDIATE EMANCIPATION must still

be our watchword, as it was Garrison's, until the hideous sin of slavery is banished from the earth. The love of rule is the dominant love in the depraved human heart. In the Church it takes the form of priestcraft, and seeks to govern the thoughts and feelings of men; in the outer world it develops into that base form of selfishness which seeks to enslave and hold as its own those weaker nations who can be made to bow down before its lust of power. Such a form of self-love is akin to and derived from that which inflames the spirits of hell, and urges them to take captive and hold in bondage the souls of men. All true abolitionists must still take example by the noble conduct of Garrison, and never slack their hand until complete and immediate emancipation is obtained for every slave that now groans under the oppressor's yoke.

#### VISIT OF GARRISON TO ENGLAND.

Into the particulars of the great battle which Garrison fought with the Colonisation Society we have no space to enter, but we now pause to chronicle the first visit of the Champion of Emancipation to England, to which country he came, in 1833, in order to counteract the efforts of the agent sent over by the American Colonisation Society.

Mr. Garrison was then twenty-eight years of age, and full of the fire of youth, not unmixed with the wisdom that more usually is characteristic of grey hairs. He was received with open arms by the enthusiastic leaders of the Anti-slavery party in England—the feeling there being then in a state of white heat.

The Colonisation Agent soon found himself obliged to return home, his cause being utterly discredited by the fervid representations made by his eloquent opponent.

We can only record one incident connected with this visit to England, but this is too amusing to leave out.

Mr. Garrison being invited to breakfast with Sir Thomas Fowell Buxton, that gentleman surveyed him from head to foot with a look of unfeigned surprise. At last he spoke,—"Are you, sir, Mr. Garrison, of Boston, United States?" "I am." "My dear sir," exclaimed the English Abolitionist, in astonishment, "I thought you were a BLACK man, and I have invited a company of ladies and gentlemen to meet the black advocate of emancipation from the United States."

There could scarcely have been a greater compliment paid to Garrison. His boldness in denouncing slavery and supporting the cause of the coloured race naturally caused it to be supposed that no white man would thus have dared to speak in the land where the benefactor of the slave was treated as a criminal.

#### FORMATION OF THE "AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY."

In December, 1833, the "American Anti-Slavery Society" was formed, and consisted at first of sixty-two delegates, who gathered in Philadelphia. In this city of William Penn—sacred to the cause of "Brotherly Love," the mayor was scarcely able to protect the delegates from the fury of the mob; but it was here that Garrison, with closed shutters and lamps lit, spent the whole night in drafting the celebrated "Declaration," which finished by saying, "that, under the guidance and by the help of Almighty God, we will do all that in us lies, consistently with this declaration of principles, to overthrow the most execrable system of slavery, that has ever been witnessed upon earth—to deliver our land from its deadliest curse; to wipe out the foulest stain that rests upon our national escutcheon, and to secure to the COLOURED POPULATION OF THE UNITED STATES all the rights and privileges which belong to them as men and as Americans, come what may to our persons, our interests, or our reputation; whether we live to witness the triumph of liberty, justice, and humanity, or perish untimely as martyrs in this great and holy cause."

Fortunately we are able to record that the author of this fervid and powerful Declaration did live to witness the consummation for which he so long and so nobly strove and prayed, although, unfortunately, the fetters of the slave were not to be molten except in the hot fires of a desolating civil war.

#### THE BIBLE SOCIETY AND SLAVES.

At the very first anniversary meeting of the American Anti-Slavery Society, held 6th May, 1834—Arthur Tappan president; Lloyd Garrison, foreign secretary—a step was taken which almost took the breath away from the sober Christians of that day! The great American Bible Society had just announced the comple-

tion of a work it had long had on hand—the delivery of a copy of the Bible to every family in the United States. The Society had, however, made one omission, and this was it took no account of any of the thousands of families of slaves! These were of no more account than so many cattle. The Anti-Slavery Society demanded the recognition of these human chattels, and offered to pay a large sum as their contribution towards supplying the slaves with Bibles. Their delegate was, however, denied a hearing, and the Bible Society would not even allow a notice of the application to appear in their official report. Why should slaves read the Bible indeed? It is difficult to suppose their masters considered they had any souls to be saved.

#### ENGLAND EMANCIPATES HER SLAVES.

This year, 1834, saw the emancipation of 800,000 slaves in the British West Indies. The result was looked forward to with intense interest by the American Abolitionists, but meanwhile the slave-holders hardened their necks, and fierce persecutions were the order of the day.

We have no space to chronicle all the doings of the pro-slavery party, though we think Mrs. Stowe might write a very interesting novel compiled from the incidents of Garrison's life. It would also have the advantage of being true.

#### GARRISON NEARLY MURDERED BY A MOB.

In 1835 the mob had full play. 20,000 dollars were offered in New Orleans for the seizure of Arthur Tappan. Anti-slavery clergymen were insulted and assaulted in their pulpits. A reign of terror had set in. The post-office in Charleston was broken up, and Anti-slavery documents found therein were publicly burned. Mr. George Thompson, the eloquent advocate of freedom, who had come over from England, was mobbed and all but murdered. Garrison was seized and dragged by a rope from street to street. Being at length rescued by the Mayor and a body of Friends, that official committed him to prison, in order to save his life! It was only after desperate conflicts and some strategy of the police that the vehicle conveying this terrible miscreant! was able to set down the prisoner at the door of the gaol, so keen was the thirst for his blood on the part of the howling mob, who in the pursuit of the Apostle

of Freedom were more like demons than men.

On the walls of his cell the prisoner wrote these memorable words—"William Lloyd Garrison was put into this cell on Wednesday afternoon, October 21, 1835, to save him from the violence of a 'respectable' and influential mob, who sought to destroy him for preaching the abominable and dangerous doctrine that all men are created equal, and that all oppression is odious in the sight of God. Hail Columbia! Cheers for the Autocrat of Russia, and the Sultan of Turkey! Reader, let this inscription remain until the last slave in this despotic land is loosed from his fetters."

#### HARRIET MARTINEAU.

But violence such as this was powerless against the cause of right. Francis Jackson, of Boston, threw open his house for the abolitionists' meetings, and at the first meeting there held came HARRIET MARTINEAU, who made a brave little speech, which caused her to be hated of the *élite* of American Society! Little recked she of their denunciations, for she embraced the cause of emancipation, and by her splendid little work, entitled "The Martyr Age of America," she enlisted the interest of Englishmen in the sufferings and difficulties of the pioneers of freedom in America.

In May, 1838, Pennsylvania Hall, Philadelphia, which cost 40,000 dollars, was burned to the ground by an infuriate mob, and laws to put down the abolitionists by force, and even to punish them with death, were passed in several States. No Abolitionist could safely travel in the South, nor was it prudent even in northern cities to open any establishment for the printing of anti-slavery publications. Mr. Birney, of Cincinnati, had his printing press destroyed, and he himself was ordered to leave the city within twenty-four hours.

#### MARTYRDOM OF ELIJAH P. LOVEJOY.

Elijah P. Lovejoy not only had his press broken into pieces, but he was fired upon by the cowardly mob, and shot dead in his own office.

But these horrors, although distressing enough to those who suffered from them, were the cause of better feeling springing up. Men grew ashamed of their own country, and began to shake themselves free from contract with slave-holding planters



and ministers of religion—so-called—who preached fury and hatred from their polluted pulpits. Dr. Channing proposed to hold a meeting condemning the Alton tragedy which had ended by slaying Lovejoy. At this meeting the Attorney-General, Mr. Austin, made an inflammatory harangue, in which he compared the emancipation of slaves to the letting loose a menagerie of wild beasts; and ended by saying that "Lovejoy died as a fool dieth."

**CHAMPIONS ARISE.—WENDELL PHILLIPS.**

But this ferocious sentiment did not go unrebuked—a young man, then unknown to fame, arose and made a speech so full of exalted and noble sentiments that the whole audience were entranced; he finished thus:—"When I heard Mr. Austin lay down principles which pleased the rioters, incendiaries, and murderers of Alton, side by side with Otis and Handcock, with Quincy and Adams, I thought those pictured lips (pointing to the portraits in the hall) would have broken forth into voice to rebuke the recreant American, the slanderer of the dead. Sir, the gentleman said he should sink into insignificance if he dared not gainsay the principles of the resolutions before the meeting. Sir, for the sentiments he has uttered on soil consecrated by the prayers of Puritans and the blood of Patriots, the earth should have yawned and swallowed him up." This young orator was **WENDELL PHILLIPS**—his brow wet with the dew of youth; the best blood of Boston in his veins; the culture of Harvard in his head; and with his tongue set aflame by the righteous indignation that filled his breast.

**EDMUND QUINCY AND JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL.**

Thus did fresh champions arise to fight in the noble cause of freedom. Ever after, until the close of the conflict, Wendell Phillips was the orator of the anti-slavery movement. Nor must Edmund Quincy and James Russell Lowell be omitted in the muster-roll of warriors; men whose sword was their pen, but this in their hands was indeed a weapon of power, true emblem of the Sword of Truth, mighty to the pulling down of strongholds!

But here we must again pause, and leave the further development of emancipation until our next number.

(To be continued.)

**LAGOS—WEST AFRICA.**

We have received from Mr. John Payne a copy of his "LAGOS AND WEST AFRICAN ALMANACK FOR 1881," for which we are much obliged. This work contains much valuable information, and will be of use to all who have any interest in West Africa. There are four engravings of public buildings in Lagos, from which we note that, as usual, wherever the English settle they build their churches and chapels exactly after the pattern of those at home, without any regard to the requirements of a tropical climate.

There are very extensive and elaborate tables, evidently compiled with the greatest care, and teeming with statistics relating to Lagos, the Gold Coast Settlements, Sierra Leone, &c.

We note also an interesting chronological table of treaties and conventions for the suppression of the slave-trade in all parts of the world.

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**Books Received.**

"PERSONAL LIFE OF DR. LIVINGSTONE."  
1 vol. By Professor Blaikie, D.D. (New College, Edinburgh.) London: John Murray.

"A TRIP UP THE NIGER AND BENUE RIVERS."  
By A. Burdo. Translated from the French by Mrs. George Sturge.

"L'ESCLAVAGE A SENEGAL EN 1880." Par Victor Schoelcher.

"BULLETIN DE LA SOCIETE DE GEOGRAPHIE DE MARSEILLE." Juillet, Aout, et Septembre, 1880.

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**THE CYCLONE IN JAMAICA.**

WE have received £10 from "W." towards the fund being raised for the relief of the distress caused by the great storm of last August, which will be duly forwarded.

NOTE.—This remittance was sent anonymously through the post, and addressed to the Editor of the "Anti-Slavery Reporter," 55, NEW BOND STREET, and consequently was three or four days in the hands of the postmen before being delivered at this office, 55, NEW BROAD STREET, E.C. We would recommend the precaution of sending half notes in all such cases, as misdirected letters, containing bank notes might easily not be delivered at all.—EDITOR.

## CENTRAL AFRICA.\*

THE safe return to this country of the ROYAL GEOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY'S EAST AFRICAN EXPEDITION is subject of congratulation. It will be remembered that after the lamented death of the leader, Mr. Keith Johnston, the command of the expedition devolved upon Mr. Joseph Thomson, a young officer only twenty-two years of age. This most youthful of African travellers has also proved himself to be one of the most successful, for he has carried out at a very moderate cost the programme laid down by the Society for his lamented chief, and he has done it without the loss of a single follower's life, or the firing of a shot in anger.

The country between Lakes Nyassa and Tanganyika has been explored—almost for the first time—and Cameron's river, the Lukuga, has been followed from its outlet from the Tanganyika Lake almost to its junction with the Lualaba—a portion of the mighty Congo.

The difficulties met with on the way down the Lukuga, which eventually necessitated a retreat from so hostile a country, are well described in letters addressed by Mr. Thomson to Dr. Kirk, in Zanzibar, and forwarded to the Royal Geographical Society.

"KAREMA OR MUSANWIRA,

"LAKE TANGANYIKA,

"27th March, 1860.

"MY DEAR DR. KIRK,—You will by this time have learned that I have failed in my attempt to reach Iendwe by way of the Lukuga and Kabuire. I left Kasenga (or Mtowa) on the 19th of January with all the confidence of a young lion which had not yet known a reverse, and six weeks after I returned to the same place as meek as a lamb.

"From the very first day I had great difficulties with my men, as they believed I was taking them to Manyema, where they would all be eaten up. They tried every means in their power to throw obstacles in my way and retard my movements, two of them deserting near Meketo, and the others threatening to do the same. For six days I continued my course along the Lukuga, in spite of their opposition; but I was then obliged to give in, at a large Uguha village, called Makalumbi, in about

E. long. 29° 27' and S. lat. 5° 41'. It (the Lukuga) flows in a general W.N.W. direction to that place, and then about west into the great westerly bend of the Congo, all the way through a most charming valley, with hills rising from 600 to 2,000 feet in height above the lake. The current is extremely rapid, and quite unnavigable for boats or canoes of any description, owing to the rapids and rocks.\* From Makalumbi I crossed the Lukuga into Urua, and struck south-west for the town of Kiyombo, who is the chief of all the Warua on the eastern side of the Congo.

## DIFFICULTIES INCREASE.

"I found, however, I had only escaped from difficulties with my men to fall into ten times worse ones with the Warua. They turned out to be the most outrageous scoundrels and thieves I had yet met. It is utterly impossible to convey to you the miserable life we led during the five weeks we were in their country. They had not the slightest acquaintance with traders, and they had no respect for the white man. The chiefs demanded exorbitant *mhongo*, and made us stop wherever they took the fancy; the people were by no means loth to help themselves by tearing the clothes off the backs of the men even in crowds. Several times they turned out to fight us. Arrows and spears have been aimed at me within a few feet. For rudeness and insolence they are unparalleled. They would come and tear open my tent door to look at me, until I had to give it up altogether. They generally became worse at night, besieging us in our huts; and several times we had to sit up all night, with howling hundreds around us, ready to fight or fly. At one village a crowd had got hold of one of my men, and I only forced my way in just in time to deflect a descending axe, which would have

\* Dr. Kirk remarks as follows, with reference to this important observation of Mr. Thomson:—"The great difference of level thus indicated would suggest that the partial barrier which existed at the time Lieutenant Cameron first discovered the outlet of the lake was caused by the temporary closing of the stream through a mass of floating vegetation becoming entangled at a time when the current was not sufficient to sweep it away. Once rooted, an obstacle of this sort is known to have caused great changes in other African rivers, and would account for the recent rise of the general level of the lake which travellers have made mention of, and which there is reason to believe has been taking place until a recent period."

\* Shut out of our last from want of room.

ended his days. And yet we had to show ourselves firm as well as pacific. The slightest accident or blood drawn, and not a soul of us would have escaped. They seemed just to thirst for our blood, but still they were afraid to attack us in case Kiyombo might be displeased.

"At last we reached the big chief's, and within about ten days of Iendwe, and there, after being kept a week, we were informed, to our immense disappointment, that we could not be allowed to pass, as they were at war with the country in front; and, to make matters worse, we were further directed to return exactly the same way we came. And back we had to go; and what a time we had of it! How we ever escaped with our lives I cannot comprehend. Imagine being awakened in the dead of night in your tent by your blanket being torn from under you, just in time to catch hold of your azimuth compass, and to find your watch gone. Such was one of my night's adventures. Fortunately they got frightened at the watch, and the chief brought it back next day.

#### A COVETOUS CHIEF.

"The chief took an immense fancy for all my personal articles—clothes, cups, blankets, &c., and would have left me with only what I had on my back, if I had not had a few things hidden away. To have seen me in the camp you would have thought I had not an article but a bare tent and a blanketless camp-bedstead. My food I had to take without cups, or other civilised arrangement, as they were instantly demanded when seen. These facts will give you some faint notion of our troubles, and of the delight we felt on once more crossing the Lukuga. We reached Mtowa on March 10th, destitute of almost everything. To my delight, however, I heard that Mr. Hore was expected every day on his way by canoe to the south end of the lake, and that he might be able to take me, though not all my men.

I had just sufficient cloth left to give two doti to each of my men, and pay for a canoe to take them across to Ujiji; so on the following morning I shipped off twenty-eight men, keeping ten men with me, trusting to my chance of getting down with Mr. Hore. Nor was I disappointed, for on his arrival on the 18th of March, he, at great personal sacrifice, made room for me and my men, and thus a second time proved to be of great service to me.

On the 23rd we started, crossed the lake to Kungwe, and reached Karema on the night of the 26th. As we neared the shore we were hailed by the jolly voice of Captain Carter,\* whom we found gun in hand, and bursting with stories of his wonderful adventures in sport and war, keeping us fixed in our seats all night in his tent as he launched them forth. . . .

#### THE BELGIAN EXPEDITION.

"We went over to visit the Belgian international party at their temporary quarters to-day. Captain Carter had his elephant ready to take us across the marsh. Karema is one of the most extraordinary places for a station that could be found on the lake:—a wide expanse of marsh, a small village, no shelter for boats, only shallow water dotted with stumps of trees, no food to be got and natives hostile, far from any line of trade. The party have commenced building forts and walls, digging ditches in regular military fashion. At table there sat down an Englishman, an Irishman, a Scotchman, a Frenchman, a Belgian, and a German, representing five expeditions; and you will doubtless be pleased to learn that of all these (thanks to yourself), the Scotchman, though the smallest, and having to travel through entirely new country, has been the most successful of all.

"During the meal we were transported back to the streets of London on being favoured with a few operatic selections by Debaize's 1,200-franc hurdy-gurdy. Thereafter each one ransacked his memory and imagination—especially the latter—in producing the most wonderful adventures with the wild animal or the savage native. As evening approached, the elephant once more made her salaams to us, and mounting her back we bade adieu to the Belgians, and returned greatly impressed with such a curious meeting in such an out-of-the-way place.

"I hope to reach Kilwa about the time this letter reaches Zanzibar, if no other unlocked-for event stops my progress.

"JOSEPH THOMSON."

#### A PORTRAIT OF CHUMA.

On arriving at Zanzibar, in July, Mr. Thomson wrote to the Secretary of the Royal Geographical Society, and thus ex-

\* Since this meeting Captain Carter and Mr. Cadenhead, of the Belgian Expedition, have met their death, by assassination, as we learn by telegram from Zanzibar.



presses himself respecting Dr. LIVINGSTONE's old servant CHUMA:—

"I cannot speak too highly of the manner in which Chuma had behaved. Though left in charge of everything, he had been only moderately extravagant, as became a 'jolly good fellow' who made friends with everybody. A headman like Chuma is a treasure that cannot be valued too highly. . . .

"At Unyanyembe, where I stayed for ten days, I was treated with princely hospitality, more especially by the Nassibs. On the 6th of June I recommenced my march to the coast, reaching Mpwapwa without trouble, and finally Bagamoyo on the 15th July, having come from Iendwe in three months, including all halts. On the 16th we arrived at Zanzibar, where we were received by Dr. and Mrs. Kirk with their characteristic hospitality and kindness. I must also mention that H.H. Sayed Burghash sent my men a present of 200 rupees. I cannot speak too highly of the behaviour and character of my men—of their honesty and faithfulness through all temptations and troubles. I have no instances of stealing or desertions to chronicle, and I am not aware of a single article being stolen from me from the beginning to the end of our journey.

"Chuma and my second headman Makatubu have worked like heroes, and I should indeed be but a poor mortal if I did not acknowledge the fact that the success of the Expedition has been to a large extent due to them. Indeed, I can claim to but little merit, as the men were all imbued with the idea that I was put specially under their care by the 'Baluzi' (Dr. Kirk) to be taken carefully and safely round Central Africa, and then returned safely to Dr. Kirk, to whom they considered themselves responsible for my well-being. As I am just following in the wake of this letter, I have not attempted to enter into any details, awaiting more leisure and the advice of competent men before attempting to put much of my work together."

Mr. Thomson's journey certainly presents a marked contrast to Mr. Stanley's sensational voyage down the Congo, with its thirty battles, and its other dramatic details.

#### THE BLANTYRE MISSION.

THE following appears to be the latest from Blantyre. We refrain from all comments upon this sad affair until the reports

are received from the investigating commission.

"As regards the Blantyre Mission, the investigating commission sent out by the Society have started from Quillimane. It is deeply to be regretted that Consul O'Neil, who had received orders to accompany them, was prevented by a severe attack of dysentery from doing so. It is to be feared now that, at the best, the result of the inquiries to be made will be one-sided. The more one hears of the business from the missionaries themselves the worse it appears; and the more one cares for missionary work and civilisation the more one wishes that the charges made should be thoroughly sifted, as well for the sake of other African missions as for Christianity itself."

#### MEMORIAL TO THOMAS CLARKSON.

WE reprint with pleasure, from the *Standard*, an admirable tribute to Thomas Clarkson—the real founder of the movement against the slave-trade, and the first President of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society. We note that a sum of £600 still remains uncollected of the £2,000 required for the beautiful monument lately commenced at Wisbech. Many friends of the cause will no doubt be glad to subscribe to so noble an object. Remittances may be paid to the Rev. Canon Scott, Vicar of Wisbech; the Rev. James Smith, Wisbech; Charles Gane, Esq., ex-Mayor, Wisbech; and to the Secretary of the Anti-Slavery Society, 55, New Broad Street, London.

Wisbech may well be proud of Thomas Clarkson, to whose honour a Memorial is in course of erection in the town. There are just a few men in each generation who, like him, cast aside all personal ambition, family interests, and live for an idea; devoting their whole time and labour to the accomplishment of an unselfish end. Sometimes their idea is to obtain a positive boon for mankind, sometimes to abolish a great evil. In either case they are generally misunderstood, or even vilified, by their fellows who

have never ascended for a moment to the moral plane on which they stand, and who consequently are entirely at a loss to comprehend the motives which inspire their self-devotion. Sometimes they live to see the fruit of their toil. More frequently they perish on Pisgah without entering the Promised Land, and other men reap in joy what they have sown in tears. Honour sometimes comes to their memories, or is given to others for whose easy path to success they smoothed the way, and they are forgotten even when the great achievement for which they laboured has become the heritage of mankind for ever. What matters it? They no more intrigued for posthumous fame than they strove for the prizes of contemporary ambition. All that they desired was that their work should be done, and if it was done everything which concerned their own renown would have seemed to them trivial. Truly such a life as this was led by Thomas Clarkson. Out of the prosaic eighteenth century (as we were wont to deem it) not a few splendid enthusiasms sprang forth; and the Anti-Slavery movement was, perhaps, the brightest flash of them all. A great evil is often the provocative of a great good; the existence of an enormous wrong is ever destined, sooner or later, it would seem, to call forth a hero—some modern Hercules or Theseus to set it right. The wrongs of the African slaves in the atrocious slave ships, and the sufferings they endured on the West Indian plantations, were enormous, and yet we ought, in justice, to remember that it was not so simple a matter as now it seems for an English gentleman to feel any concern in arresting them.

These very Anti-Slavery workers were almost the pioneers of that kind of philanthropy which stretches out its arm across the world, to "deliver him that is oppressed from the hand of the adversary." Before their time men thought a good deal of their duty to their "neighbour," their townsmen, their fellow-countrymen, occasionally, perhaps, to the men of a neighbouring and friendly country with which they happened to have had intercourse. But human sympathy had very little extended its ever-widening circles beyond each man's own race. The typical Englishman of Dibdin's songs hated a Frenchman almost as a part of his religion. No laws had

ever yet been proposed in any country for the humane treatment of animals; and while cruelty existed in the prisons, in the schools, in the penal systems, and in the habits of men of all classes, to an extent of which now we can hardly form a notion, the story even of the most horrible wrongs suffered by remote and inferior races must have come like a far-off echo and tale of little meaning to the ear rather than as the shrill and stirring appeal we should now find it to be. At the utmost the indolent reply which we still hear offered in feeble cases—"It is very shocking, but what can be done?"—must have been the natural expression of hopelessness of almost every private individual who, in 1785, sent his merciful thoughts from an English University in the wake of those dreadful slave-ships ploughing the Atlantic with their miserable living cargoes, or into the depths of those immense plantations whence came the wealth of Liverpool and Bristol, of which places it was once said, that every stone in them "was cemented with the blood of a slave." Who could dream that it lay within the power of a handful of young men, armed only with the righteousness of their cause, to destroy a traffic that Wesley described as "the sum of human villainies." Probably the Prize Latin Dissertation proposed by Dr. Peckard, the Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge in 1775, to the Senior Bachelors of Arts, stands alone among all such compositions, past and present, in having produced a great practical result—not, indeed, even in this case, on its readers, but on its writer. Clarkson, then a Cambridge student (son of the master of the Grammar School at Wisbech), resolved to compete for the prize, the subject being: "Is it right to make slaves of others against their will?" and having once commenced a study of the subject, his strong young mind fastened upon it. Again the truth was illustrated that an honest inquiry into practical morals is like a walk on a mountain path—at once invigorating, and affording large and noble views never beheld on lower levels of thought. Clarkson, in fact, gained much more than the prize for a Latin Dissertation—he found an object lofty enough to waken in him an enthusiasm which bore him through a life of splendid self-devotion, till he reaped his glorious victory, and saw the slave-trade

abolished by the law of England, when (as Wordsworth wrote) he might thenceforth enjoy "a good man's calm, a great man's happiness."

There was yet, however, work to be done, and Clarkson laboured on, and not till negro slavery was abolished in the West Indies and (though he knew it not) the knell of its abolition in the Southern States of America was on the eve of sounding, did he pass away, in 1846, after more than fourscore years of as noble a life as the history of philanthropy records. It is precisely to such men that it is fit and right that public memorials of honour should be raised. They did not ask for fame or lucrative employments or reward of any sort, and they are gone where human honours avail them not. But it is good for us to place on record their noble devotion and the reverence which it inspires. We rightly raise a statue to a general who leads our troops to victory. We may well raise some modest memorial to the man who led us to a moral Waterloo—to the victory over the great national sin of the slave-trade. The proposed Memorial at Wisbech, of which the first stone has just been laid, will, it is estimated, cost about two thousand pounds, of which fourteen hundred have been already subscribed. The balance, will, we doubt not, be speedily provided. Clarkson's great ally, Wilberforce, sleeps near his costly tomb in Westminster Abbey, with his sculptured features so strangely moulded as to present rather the aspect of a Mephistopheles than that of the serene Christian philanthropist. But Clarkson has no place in the national Valhalla. Wisbech may, therefore, well claim that he shall have such honour as his native town can pay, for the spirit of Clarkson is still needed amongst us—not only to interfere now for the wretched negroes of the Soudan (still trafficked in by Egyptian officials), but in every direction where good men endeavour to establish the Divine Kingdom of Mercy and Justice. To no better model of the truly religious, and at the same time the truly rational man, could we point than to him who when he was asked, "Whether he were not afraid that while he was engrossed with labouring for the slaves, he might be neglecting his own spiritual concerns?" replied, in the language of an old Puritan, "I can trust the Lord that while

I am doing His work He will take care of my soul!" From the day when, as Wordsworth said, he "led forth this pilgrimage sublime"—this crusade against Paynims far worse than Saladin and his host of yore—Clarkson never faltered in his course, never took his hand from the plough, either for his own temporal or (as his fanatical friend may have desired) for his eternal interest. He gave himself to his task, and he achieved it. That was his whole story, and his great reward; and it might be his epitaph. When the benefactors of mankind are reckoned over, the number of those who freely and disinterestedly devoted themselves to philanthropic work, from Heracles Atticus down to the close of the last century, is not very large, unless we include those saintly founders of the Romish charitable orders and their followers, who, like St. Elizabeth, of Hungary, laboured for the relief of their neighbours from immediate disease or want. The bold thought of reaching to the root of prevailing evils—of reforming the whole prison system of Europe, of abolishing slavery, of ameliorating the condition of entire classes, such as factory workers or chimney-sweeps, or destitute children—is an essentially Protestant and modern idea. Of the noblest order of philanthropists who work it out (curers of disease—not the mere alleviators of symptoms), Howard and Wilberforce, and Clarkson were the first belted knights.—*Standard*.

#### A DEED OF MARVELLOUS HEROISM.

WE copy with great pleasure from the *London Gazette* a notice of Royal favour bestowed upon a coloured man, whose deed of daring will find few parallels for cool and determined bravery and contempt of death. To spring into the blood-stained waters of the sea, where sharks were actually engaged in devouring a victim, is a proof of a courage as rare as it was disinterested. Whilst heartily congratulating the brave man, who so worthily receives the distinguished mark of Her Majesty's favour recorded below, we would inquire how it came to pass that a runaway slave should thus be found seeking, at great peril to his life, an asylum on board one of our ships of war? Did this slave belong to Portuguese masters, or was he a waif escaped from a slave caravan? We fear there is still a



considerable amount of slavery and slave-trading on the Mozambique Coast, in spite of all our treaties and the vigilance of so-called Portuguese cruisers.

BOARD OF TRADE, WHITEHALL GARDENS,

November 19.

The Queen has been graciously pleased to confer the Albert Medal of the First Class on Farabani Seedie Tindal, serving in Her Majesty's ship *Wild Swan*. The following is an account of the services in respect of which the decoration has been conferred:—On the 8th of August last, while the *Wild Swan* was off the coast of Mozambique, a fugitive slave boy named Farejallah, having jumped overboard from a stage alongside the ship, was immediately seized by an enormous shark, which bit off his

leg at the knee, dragging him under the water. When he rose to the surface the shark again attacked him, tearing off his remaining leg and part of the thigh. On Farejallah beginning to rise to the surface again, closely followed by the shark, Farabani jumped from the netting into the water and brought the unfortunate boy to the surface, nor did he leave the water till he had placed him in a position of safety. The captain of the *Wild Swan* adds that what makes this, if possible, a more gallant deed is the fact that Farabani saw the whole of the horrible catastrophe from the first seizure of the boy, and that when he jumped into the water, not only the attacking shark, but three others were seen close to the ship, attracted no doubt by the blood.

## THE "ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER"

### NOTICE.

ON and after the 15th January, 1881, it is intended to issue the *Anti-Slavery Reporter* ONCE A MONTH, instead of bi-monthly. The size will be reduced one-half, and the expense will not be materially increased, except for postages and labour. It is hoped that by a more frequent issue, and with less matter, the public will be better able to find time to make themselves acquainted with the still crying evils of Slavery and the Slave-trade, which it is the object of this journal to expose and denounce.

By the cash account for 1879, given in the September issue, it will be seen that the cost of printing and posting the *Reporter* exceeds the whole of the ordinary subscriptions and donations to the Anti-Slavery Society, leaving the Office expenses and other necessary charges entirely dependent upon legacies and other uncertain sources.

About 1,750 copies of the *Reporter* are sent out, and supposing that only 1,200 of these were paid for at the fixed price of five shillings per annum, there would be an income of three hundred pounds from the *Reporter* alone, besides the larger subscriptions from friends of the cause.

As it is thought that many persons, who would not care to see their names entered as subscribers to the general funds of the Society for so small a sum as five shillings, would nevertheless be glad to contribute that insignificant amount towards the expenses of printing the *Reporter*, it is now proposed to open a separate fund, called the "REPORTER FUND," and it is hoped that all those friends who receive that "periodical," and who do not already subscribe towards the Society's funds, will kindly forward a remittance of FIVE SHILLINGS, which will entitle them to one copy of the *Reporter* every month throughout the year. No one will feel this to be any burden, and if all will do it the *Reporter* may be made self-supporting, instead of being, as at present, a tax upon the resources of the Society.

POST OFFICE ORDERS, or HALFPENNY POSTAGE STAMPS, may be forwarded to the Editor, 55, New Broad Street, E.C.

Advertisements will be received for insertion on moderate terms.

LONDON: Printed by BARRETT, SONS & Co., Crown Works, 21, Seething Lane, and published at the Offices of the Society, 55, New Broad Street, in the Parish of St. Botolph, Bishopsgate, in the City of London.—DECEMBER, 1880.







